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INDIAN MISSIONS.

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BY

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INDIAN MISSIONS.

“WHAT are our Missions doing in India?” “Are they making any substantial progress?” “Are they really as little successful as some people tell us?”

Such are some of the questions most commonly asked of any one freshly arrived from India by friends of our Church's Missions, and by people as well informed as their neighbours regarding what is really going on in India.

The question itself, or the tone in which it is put, generally indicates some expectation of an unfavourable answer. If the opinions of others who have been in India are quoted, they are expressive of some doubt whether much is really being done by Christian Missions in India, but especially by those of our own Church, in comparison with what is being effected by other agencies—many of them unconnected with religion.

Any such conclusion is entirely opposed to the results of my own observation and experience in various parts of India during the past thirty-five years. It may therefore interest Churchmen to know the grounds of my belief as to the extent and reality of the work which is being done by our Missions. It may also be useful to trace the causes why there should be any question as to matters of fact;

regarding which it might seem, at first sight, that there could not possibly be two opinions.

I will confine myself, as much as possible, to what I have myself seen and heard. Though almost perpetually moving about that part of the peninsula to which I was attached, during my Indian service, I cannot boast of having visited, however briefly, one-fifth of the provinces which make up the Empire—nor of knowing very intimately the circumstances of half the provinces I visited. Still my opportunities of observation were as extensive and varied as those of many men who feel authorized to speak pretty confidently as to the general success or failure of Indian Missions; I had, moreover, considerable advantage in frequently revisiting the same spot after intervals of five, ten, or more years.

I ought, at starting, to define what I mean by “Missionary work” and “Missionary progress;” for different people, and even different Missionaries, use the words in very different senses.

All would agree that to preach the Gospel message, and to put in the power of hearers fully to comprehend the scheme of Redemption through Christ, is Missionary work. Some might demur to include in the definition the distribution of the Scriptures so as to be within easy reach of inquirers. Many more would object to include education, unless it were exclusively and completely religious.

So, with regard to the question, What is real Missionary progress?—Some would limit it to complete conversion and open profession of Christianity, to such complete and sincere abandonment of another religion as would justify the strictest Missionary in admitting the convert by Baptism into the Congregation of professing Christian communicants.

I would, however, speak of Missionary progress in its

least restricted sense, as including all that tends to bring the population of India generally as much within the Christian pale as are the inhabitants of Western Europe. All that tends directly and intentionally to produce this result I should regard as Missionary work.

Let us consider what change has come over the people of India, moving them in this direction. Then let us try to ascertain how much of this movement is due to the action of Christian Missions.

Of course, much of such work is done by other than Missionary agency. Anything that tends to break up old beliefs, aids, in its degree, the reception of a new creed. In this point of view, almost everything we do in India is more or less Missionary work. Not only railways and printing-presses; education, commerce, and the electric telegraph; our impartial codes, and uniform systems of administration; but our misfortunes and our mistakes, our wars, our famines and our mutinies.

It is, in truth, a perception of this fact which blinds many observers to the extent and character of the change which is taking place in matters of belief; everything in India is in a state of revolution. Happily for mankind, it is as yet peaceable; generally silent, and often almost unnoticed; but still it is revolution—more general, more complete, and more rapid than that which is going on in Europe. Every one in India, according to his point of view, sees more or less of this change and knows something of its causes. But, unless his attention is particularly directed to the subject of religious belief, he is apt to suppose that the general change is due to that cause with which he is himself immediately connected, and to ignore all others, and especially those which, like religious dogmas, act sometimes negatively, sometimes positively, with very various effect on morals;—and which are always subtle in opera-

tion, and generally little noticeable at the outset, in comparison with the power of their ultimate operation.

Of course it is easy to say I am confounding cause with effect : that I am attributing to Luther's preaching what is really the result of the invention of printing or of the discovery of America. But, for the moment, I would not discuss the relative efficiency of causes, nor seek to assign to each agency its exact share in the work done. I would speak only of results. The Christian Missionary seeks to produce a certain result, and it is produced. Whether by his working, or by something else, we will inquire hereafter ; a great religious and moral revolution is in progress, and in the first instance the fact of the result is all we are concerned with.

Let us look back for a moment, and consider what India has known of our faith, from the earliest times of authentic history. No part of it is new to India, or of merely modern introduction. There is much to give colour to the belief that the ancestors of some of the scattered communities of Israelites, on the Maharatta coast near Bombay, arrived in India, or at all events had passed beyond the limits of the Persian Empire of Xerxes, before the invasion of India by Alexander. There is a considerable population of Jews, farther South, whose ancestors arrived at various subsequent periods before the Mohammedan era, bringing with them their own creed and their sacred books.

It is also clear that the Gospel of the New Testament was preached to the ancestors of these Jewish exiles, and to the heathen around them, in the earliest or Apostolic age of our era ; and that numerous converts were made by those early Christian Missionaries in the maritime provinces of Southern India. From the days of St Thomas's immediate successors to our own, the Churches

of Western Asia and Europe have ever and anon sent messengers and Missionaries to India to inquire of the welfare of their brethren in the East, or to enlighten their ignorance. The object was sufficient to interest rulers like Alfred, even in remote and, at that time, semi-barbarous corners of Christendom. We have more than one detailed and authentic record * of Missionary travel in India during the middle ages, showing that the Missionaries found, in many parts of India, settled communities of Christians, who, though sometimes terribly persecuted, still enjoyed, on the whole, a considerable amount of toleration from the Hindoo rulers of the land. As the obstacles to Oriental travel created by the growth of Mohammedanism and by the Crusades diminished, and as commerce and letters revived from the desolation which followed the overthrow of the Roman Empire, European travellers, ecclesiastics as well as laics, became more numerous. Emperors like Jehangir and Acbar welcomed them to their Courts; Christian artists left their mark on Indian palaces and capitals, the Christian Scriptures found a place in more than one Royal Indian Library, and Christian morals, if not Christian doctrine, had a share in shaping Indian imperial constitutions.

The religious zeal of the Portuguese was not displayed in a fashion so much calculated to win souls to Christ after the manner of the Apostles, as to add kingdoms to Christendom after the fashion of the Crusaders. I fear that there can be little doubt but that this crusading zeal of the Portuguese did far more harm than good to the cause of Christianity, but perhaps its worst result was the impression it helped to produce on the early English and Dutch adventurers, that Missionary zeal was fatal to

* See, for instance, the curious travels of Friar Jordanus, in the 14th century, translated by Colonel Yule for the Hakluyt Society.

commercial success, or to the acquisition of political influence.

The good London citizens who thought they directed the affairs of the East India Company in its infancy, sent out many a well-meant despatch, directing the Chiefs of their Factories to look after the morals of their English servants, and a frugal establishment of Chaplains was allowed to preach to them. As the great English mercantile enterprise grew into an Empire, Parliament from time to time paid some cautious homage to the value of religious teaching, among other responsibilities of rulers. But it cannot be denied that such duties ever held a very secondary place in the estimation of even the most thoughtful of the hard practical men who laid the foundations of our Eastern Empire. There seems to have been ever present to their minds a latent misgiving that too much thought of the things of another world was incompatible with due attention to the affairs of this, and that the extension of trade and of territorial influence were likely to suffer from over-much Missionary zeal.

And in their generation they were, no doubt, quite right. There was little of crusading zeal in the religion of ordinary Englishmen in the eighteenth century, and that little was generally drawn in other directions than towards India. Had it all been directed to Hindostan it could not, humanly speaking, have done much. But any very fervent desire to convert the Gentoos was hardly compatible with the motives which actuated most of the founders of our Indian Empire. If the hope did sometimes sanctify the dreams of men who, like Clive and Hastings, had a forecast of the real greatness of the work they had in hand, it could have little influence on the rank and file of their followers, compared with the sense of duty to their employers and country, and the love of enterprise

or power which often ennobled their more selfish motives, and impelled them to the great task so many of them were almost unconsciously performing.

As far as the growth and consolidation of an empire are concerned, it is, perhaps, well that it was so. For it cannot be doubted that any well-founded suspicion that our aim was in any considerable degree the subversion of the indigenous creeds of Hindostan, and the substitution of our own, would, as far as human eye can see, have been fatal to all hopes of an Anglo-Indian Empire almost any time during the three-quarters of a century which preceded or which followed the battle of Plassy. It would have supplied almost the only conceivable motive which could have united against us all the discordant elements of Indian political life, and would have effectually retarded that process of natural disintegration to which, more than anything else, our successes have been due.

Nor, indeed, is it probable that it would have been well for Christianity itself had any ardent desire for its propagation mingled largely with the impulses of the early English conquerors of Hindostan.

The gold of true Christian zeal may stand much alloy with more earthly and baser motives, and be recoverable afterwards in its original purity, when tried by the most fiery of tests; but it is not improved nor increased by the process.

Whatever Christianity may be supposed to owe to Constantine, it is certainly under no great obligations to conquerors in general. Uncontrolled political power has an influence at least as corrupting as power in its baser and more concrete form of riches.

Few conquerors or autocrats can realize the Christian statesman's ideal of duty, to do as he would be done by,

in politics and religion, as well as in common life. Fewer still, who feel deeply and earnestly on points of faith, when they actually possess the power to coerce or persecute, could still leave their neighbour free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

The early conquerors of India were sorely tempted on every side, they were far from all control of public conscience, and were practically little responsible to any earthly tribunal. Few reflecting Christians could now wish that Clive had been actuated by the religious zeal of a John Huss or an Alva; or that later conquerors and annexationists had been advised by a Cotton Mather or a Xavier in their dealings with the crumbling kingdoms around them.

But a wonderful change was coming over the views of Englishmen with regard to Missionary work generally, about the same period that a hundred different, and often apparently discordant, causes concurred to force us into the position of the reluctant rulers of all India.

In both cases the political as well as the religious change succeeded a period of darkness and depression.

If Missionary zeal was never quite extinct in any European Church during the last century, it was nowhere really active; and, except for occasional evidence of life in a suffering and persecuted Church like the Moravians, it appeared to be slumbering, if not dead. Nor was it any sunshine of worldly prosperity which at last revived or aroused it. In England the Wesleyan disruption seemed, to many minds, for a time to "abstract all religious zeal from the Established Church, whilst the loss of our American Colonies removed from us the fairest field for real Missionary labour which could have been presented to any nation. In Europe generally the French Revolution threatened to overwhelm all religious belief in a

deluge of scepticism. Yet from that era may be dated the creation or revival of all our great religious and Missionary Societies, and the growth of those great religious parties which, all actuated by a more or less active zeal for their own view of Christianity, have together effected so much in creating and propagating an active Christian spirit throughout the world.

The movement was not confined to Great Britain. It was quite as active in every part of the Continent, which at first sight seemed most scourged by the infidel spirit of the French Revolution. There is not a province in France or Germany, Holland, Switzerland, or Belgium, which does not now do more to maintain missionaries preaching Christianity after their own form of national belief, than all Europe could boast of before the outbreak of the French Revolution.

The zeal for Missionary enterprise which became active in England in the early part of this century was, however, long in reaching the rulers of India, in India. Able pens have recorded the history of Schwartz in Southern India and of the Serampore Brethren. They have told how, when the first avowed Protestant Missionaries arrived at Calcutta with the declared object of preaching to the heathen of Bengal, the Governor-General and his Council felt convinced, after much deliberation, that the Missionaries could not be allowed to carry out their object in British territory, and they were thus forced to betake themselves to the little Danish settlement, which has been immortalised by the hospitality it extended to the refugees.

America, too, had felt the impulse before more than one of our own English Missionary Societies * had succeeded

* The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is the solitary exception.

in establishing Missions in any part of India. The last American war had hardly closed when a band of humble and devoted men arrived from Boston, sent out by the American Board of Foreign Missions, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel to the Hindoo subjects of the mother country. Nothing could more distinctly mark the strength of the dread which the then rulers of British India entertained of any Missionary proceedings, than the fact that, after anxious deliberation by Governors, Councillors, and Secretaries, many of them sincerely desirous to welcome the Missionary strangers, they were solemnly warned off the British territory, and effectually expelled from it, as likely to be dangerous to the public peace. Some of them never returned ; but one little band made a second attempt. They preferred an earnest appeal to Sir Evan Nepean, the Governor of Bombay. He had been Dundas's most trusted subordinate at the Admiralty, and Under-Secretary throughout much of the Revolutionary War. The Americans appealed to him not as a statesman but as Vice-President of the then newly-established Bible Society. They had a good friend in his Assistant Secretary, the late Robert Cotton Money, a young man as remarkable for his prudence as for his fervent piety ; and at length, after much misgiving as to the possible mischief they might do in the country, and many well-meant warnings to be most circumspect in their conduct, they were allowed to remain.*

Meantime, many devoted men from Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Germany, had followed these first pioneers from England and America to establish Protestant Missions and Rome had sent forth men of almost all European nations on a similar errand.

* The last survivor of the little band, the Rev. Mr. Graves, was still actively at work when I first arrived in India in 1834, and continued at his post till his death in 1848.

But the last thirty-five years have been emphatically the era of revolution in India.

To judge how the revolution has affected Mission work, it may be well, in the first instance, to fix our attention on some area less than the whole Continent. Let us consider the condition of that portion of Western India of which Bombay may be regarded as the centre.

A line beginning at the north of Sind, on our western frontier some 400 miles from the sea, and continuing in a semicircular direction at the same average distance from the coast, to a point due east of Bombay, and thence curving westward to the coast 400 miles south of Bombay, will about indicate the area.

We have had a footing there longer than in any other part of India. In Charles the Second's reign we acquired a strong naval and commercial position by the cession from the Portuguese of Bombay, one of the best natural harbours in Asia.

How in the early years of our rule our predecessors on the western coast lived, traded, and intrigued, has been graphically told* from the records of those days. Mr. Anderson's work was prematurely cut short; but he who would know from what small beginnings empires grow—how the seeds of a great Power may for ages lie dormant, and how they may shoot and flourish after having long seemed hopelessly dead and corrupt—will do well to consult his pages.

The western coast was the scene of some of the early exploits of Clive and Watson. Among the powers which ruled on the mainland, Wellington made his first essays in command of armies, and his letters, written in those

* "The English in Western India," by the Rev. Philip Anderson, A.M., Chaplain on the Bombay Establishment, 2nd edit., Smith and Elder, London, 1856.

commands, still form the best manual from which a soldier may learn how to conquer in countries like India. Munro, Malcolm, and Elphinstone, in the same school, administered what they had helped to conquer, and left lessons how so to govern India as to make the dominion of foreign conquerors respected as well as beloved by subject races. Nor have they ever wanted worthy successors. Few could surpass Napier as the sagacious and far-sighted ruler of the kingdom his sword had won. But Western India has produced many who showed, like the great men I have named, almost equal genius for the arts of peace and war. Some like John Jacob hardly achieved more than a great local reputation, but Outram's services as a philanthropist and a civiliser, not less than his valour as a soldier, have won for him a place by the side of the warriors and statesmen whose names the nation has immortalised in Westminster Abbey.

For a century and a half, though our influence gradually increased, the actual growth of our empire on the western coast was almost imperceptible; but during the first fifty years of the present century our frontier extended with unexampled rapidity. An officer* who in 1809 served on outpost duty at Tanna, twenty miles north of Bombay, then the northern frontier of the British possessions in Western India, lived to command fifty years later as brigadier at Peshawur, a frontier station more than a thousand miles, as the crow flies, in advance of his quarters as an ensign; almost the whole of the intermediate territory had in the meantime fallen under the rule, more or less direct, of the British Crown.

Commerce meantime thrived apace. From a small and unhealthy fishing-town, Bombay grew, during the naval wars of the last century, to be the Halifax of the East.

* Colonel Douglas.

Since then it has rapidly increased in importance, till now it numbers more inhabitants than any city in the British Empire, London alone excepted, and no English port out of the British islands carries on a larger foreign commerce.

And what, during these 200 years, has been the progress made by the Gospel in these parts ?

Early in Queen Anne's days a zealous chaplain * took advantage of a genial Christmas gathering of the settlers, and got the Governor to lay the foundation-stone of the first English Protestant Church built in India. He records how he planned, and what is more, completed the edifice, of proportions suited to the dignity he hoped it would one day assume as the cathedral of a Protestant Anglo-Indian Diocese. His hopes were not disappointed, for it is now the cathedral of the Diocese of Bombay ; but it was a century and a quarter ere a bishop was appointed to the diocese and took his seat in the cathedral the good chaplain had designed for him, and which Bishop Middleton more than a century afterwards had consecrated.

In 1834 the total strength of the Protestant Ecclesiastical Establishment was as follows :—

Of the Established Church of England and Ireland there were an Archdeacon and 13 Government Chaplains, who officiated at the chief civil and military stations, and there were two chaplains of the Established Kirk of Scotland stationed in Bombay similarly employed. The Scotch Kirk had also three Missionaries stationed at Bombay, at Hurnee (a small station on the coast), and at Poona.

The Societies for promoting Christian Knowledge, and for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, had committees, but no Missions or Missionaries. The Church Missionary Society had two ordained Missionaries stationed at Nassick, about eighty miles off.

* The Rev. Mr. Cobbe.

The London Missionary Society had four Missionaries resident at Surat and Belgaum.

The American Maharatta Mission, established in 1813 by the American Board of Foreign Missions, had six ordained Missionaries and three lay helpers at Bombay and Ahmednuggur.

Altogether the Protestant ordained clergy numbered in Western India, 16 Military Chaplains and 15 ordained Missionaries, of various denominations, at seven stations.

A branch of the Bible Society had translated and printed portions of the Scripture into Maharatta and Guzeratti, the two languages commonly spoken near Bombay, and a single gospel into the dialect of Cutch.

There was also a Tract and Book Society.

Of the Roman Catholic Clergy it is difficult to give accurate statistics. There was no bishop or vicar apostolic resident at Bombay in 1834. A few Dominicans and other regulars, chiefly English, Irish, French, or Italians, had Missionary duties at stations where British troops were quartered, and ministered to the soldiers. But the whole territory formed part of the Portuguese Archbishopric of Goa, and, by treaty with the Crown of Portugal, all the rights and jurisdiction of the Portuguese archbishop and his clergy, as they existed in Charles II.'s time, were to be respected by the British. In or about Bombay there was a considerable remnant of the native Churches converted by the Portuguese in earlier days, and divided into regular parishes, with priests of their own, generally educated at Goa.

It can hardly be said, however, that, in 1834, any special Mission to the unconverted natives was actively maintained by the Church of Rome in Western India.

Such, after we had held our political position on that coast for a century and three-quarters, and our commercial

establishment for much longer, was the numerical strength of the Missionary army which was to attempt to convert to Christianity many nations, considerably exceeding in numbers the population of all Italy, and professing creeds of which Mohammedanism was one of the most modern, while others could boast that they were old beliefs, and were professed by civilised and conquering races, when Alexander invaded India.

Nor was the prospect much more encouraging for the Missionaries when the work was looked at more closely. In the Established Church the chaplains were pretty fully occupied with their own duties to the European soldiers. Some of them* were actuated by a very active Missionary zeal ; but, as a rule, the pastoral charge of 1,000 or more men, with their wives and families, hospitals and schools, and two or more full services every Sunday, was found fully to occupy their time.

The two Missionaries maintained by the Church Missionary Society were stationed at Nassick, a very sacred town, on a very sacred river, about 100 miles from Bombay, the head-quarters of Brahmanism in that part of India, and to all appearance one of the most bigoted and least impressible places within many hundred miles. The great majority of Europeans who heard or cared anything about them (and they were not many), according to their views regarding Missions generally, ridiculed or pitied them ; those who knew the country best, shook their heads at the notion of attacking Brahmanism at its head-quarters. "The people there were the most bigoted and best instructed in their own learning of all that part of Hindostan.

* Such were the Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) Carr and his son-in-law, the late Rev. W. K. Fletcher, who, like the Henry Martyns, Thomasons, and Corries of Bengal, ever regarded Mission work as an essential part of their pastoral duties.

As dialecticians or Sanscrit scholars, the Missionaries were no match for them. To cope with the learned Shastris would puzzle the greatest scholars of Europe; and moderately-educated clergymen had no chance with them. They would have done better to devote their energies to some simple rural population." If the Missionaries themselves had any great hopes of success, they said not much about it to the world in general. There was little, if any, direct result to be seen from their teaching or preaching as far as the genuine Hindoo population about them was concerned; but they worked steadily at their schools, their preaching and their translations, lived lives which were a visible Missionary sermon, and hoped for better things to come.

The Kirk of Scotland had shortly before sent out a man who will be remembered among the Christian apostles of Western India. Dr. John Wilson possessed in an eminent degree all the typical excellencies and powers of a highly-educated Scotch clergyman. He neglected no branch of human learning which came in his way. Classical and Oriental scholars, philologists and antiquaries, geologists and politicians, all lamented that he did not pay exclusive attention to their own favourite branch of study; but none could complain of him as negligent or indifferent. All his human learning, however, was devoted to the Missionary cause, and mainly to education, which he believed was intended to be the chief handmaid of Missionary work in India; and all his proceedings were directed with a prudence, judgment, and consistent perseverance, which is rare in any profession. But in 1834 he was only lately arrived, and the Educational Institute of the General Assembly to which he chiefly devoted his energies was yet in its infancy.

The Missionaries of other Churches were in much the

same state as those of the Established Church. The Europeans around them regarded them sometimes with sympathy, or with compassion ; but generally with indifference, often verging on ridicule in the more thoughtless, as well-meaning enthusiasts, who were working at impossibilities ; none of them could or did boast much visible fruit to his labours.

The Americans, simple, retiring, and somewhat austere, as might be expected in men to whom the memory of their Pilgrim Fathers is sacred, had fresh in their minds the difficulties raised by the Anglo-Indian Government in admitting them to land at all in India ; and were reserved in speaking to strangers of their prospects of success. They had, like all Americans, great faith in the efficacy of education, and in the use of the press as an engine of education. Their schools were models in their way, and were well attended, their printing presses were far in advance of any similar establishments in India, and the publications which issued from them excellent in weighty matter as well as in typography.

From the first they paid peculiar attention to the lower orders, whether from an early perception of the ethnological peculiarities which render those classes in some respects more accessible to Christian truth, or simply from sympathy with a down-trodden race. But this did not impress many men of great Indian experience and worldly wisdom with any favourable opinion of success. " It was a mistake to think that much general impression on the great mass of Hindoo society would ever be produced by converting a few low-caste people here and there. The effect must be rather unfavourable on the better classes, who were already too apt to think that Christianity was a synonym for one of the most degraded castes, and that the habits of Christians accorded only with the tastes of

the lowest of Hindoos. The same amount of labour and learning would be much better applied in trying to make an impression on one Brahman than on a dozen men of inferior caste."

It would not, in truth, have been easy at that time for the Missionary to satisfy any man of merely worldly prudence or wisdom that his attempt was not a very hopeless one. "Our views of Christianity had been before these natives of India for one or two centuries, and what was the result? Here and there an intellectual giant, like Ramahoun Roy, might have emancipated himself from the grosser forms of idolatry, and gone over to pure theism—or a poor wretch who had no previous knowledge of any religion, and had nothing to lose in this world or the next, might be converted and make as good a Christian as any converted pauper in Europe—but, as a system, Hindooism was impenetrable and immoveable. It had lasted two or three thousand years, and seemed likely to last two or three thousand more."

"And what was true of Hindooism was even more applicable to Mohammedanism, and other forms of Oriental belief. Had we ever heard of any real effect from Western preaching or teaching on Eastern forms of thought? In this, as in other respects, the East was unchangeable," etc., etc.

While this was the general feeling of Europeans who were not averse to Christianity in their own persons and families, but who merely lacked faith in its inherent power, or in the promises of its Founder, it can hardly be expected that the native community generally should have had any strong expectation that this preaching by solitary Missionaries, scattered here and there among hundreds of thousands of men of other creeds, could have much effect.

There were at that time and long after, many among the natives who still feared that religion might be made a political question ; that the English merely bided their time, and would some day appear in their true colours as Iconoclasts, like the Mohammedans of former days ; or as Crusaders, like the Portuguese of more recent memory. They could not quite believe that we were all Atheists or Gallios ; still less could they conceive the feeling of Christian zeal and love such as produces fervent desire for the conversion of all the world ; joined to that feeling of toleration which will not allow a man conscious of worldly power to use it for purposes of spiritual proselytism.

Natives who reflected on such things in those days were sorely puzzled to understand either the professed views of the Government, or what they could see of the motives of Missionaries.

But, as a general rule, the native population regarded the Missionaries with indifference, if not contempt. Sometimes, though very rarely, an instance of imprudent zeal might rouse a Brahmanical or Mohammedan mob ; but generally they looked on the Missionaries as harmless, well-meaning enthusiasts, who had a craze for preaching and distributing tracts ; not bad people by any means, and often entitled to respect, if not on their own account, at least from the weight their opinions seemed to carry with officials, and not for any reason to be much feared.

Let us suppose that some thirty-five years have passed. The British frontier has vastly extended, and is now identical with that of India. Not only has kingdom after kingdom fallen to the British Crown, some by conquest after war, some in default of heirs who could enforce their claims, some by way of punishments for misdeeds of

rulers ; but all, as it were, in spite of ourselves. No Semiramis has been reigning over a nation of conquerors, but a Sovereign who would not willingly have shed a drop of innocent blood to gain ten kingdoms. Nor were the people as a mass bent on conquest. It is true that, as of old, ten of them would sometimes chase a thousand, and the fiercest and best disciplined warriors of Asia were in vain hurled in thousands against comparative handfuls of these stiff Britons, buttoned up in red-coats and accoutred as if with the intention of preventing their being mischievous in war. But the people of England, who thought they directed everything throughout the empire by means of an assembly sitting in London, seemed by no means prone to conquest. In all sincerity they sent out the most imperative orders to their officers in India to conquer no more ; but somehow their orders were never obeyed, even by men who wished to obey. The people of England, however, gave no great encouragement to the unwilling conquerors. They sometimes growled out thanks for what they seemed to regard as an involuntary service, and an unintended gift of empire ; but they often reviled their benefactor as though they thought him an unwilling or disobedient servant, and, if they put up a statue to him when he was dead, were very apt to neglect him while he lived.

Even defeats and misfortunes helped somehow to extend the empire. Once our armies set out with great pomp, attacked a warlike and independent people dwelling beyond the natural boundaries of India, and established themselves firmly in Affghanistan, in a position which seemed to dominate over Persia and Central Asia, and effectually to screen India from all risk of invasion. We appeared for the moment to have everything very much our own way in Asia, when suddenly, without any very

visible external cause, the whole fabric beyond our Indian border seemed to melt away. The country which had been so easily overrun rose against us—a strong army, powerfully posted, was destroyed as by magic. The demon of misfortune and mismanagement seemed to pursue us. Everything went wrong, and though instances of heroism and conduct in individual garrisons and detachments consoled the nation by showing we had not lost the elements of national glory, the net result was a humiliation so serious that it appeared for a moment to shake the very foundations of our dominion.

They, however, who thought our power in India was on the wane, were speedily undeceived. Within a few years after our Affghan reverses, three great and warlike nations suffered defeat, and if our conquests in Affghanistan were lost as suddenly as they had been acquired, we learnt some valuable lessons of wisdom by misfortune, and our position in India was on the whole greatly strengthened by our reverses.

But in 1857 a mutiny and rebellion broke out in India, so great and widespread that superficial observers at first began to think the empire was lost. It was, in truth, a calamity of the nature of those which destroy empires. But in this instance it seemed, when the crisis was over, only to consolidate and confirm. What was feeble gave way, and was removed. What was strong had its strength severely tried, and, if it stood the test, was all the more trustworthy. When the crisis was past, the general strength and stability of the empire was evidently greater than before.

Among many things which contributed to this result, was a proclamation declaring the Queen's supremacy over India as over the rest of the British Empire. It was necessary to issue some public notification of the kind,

to mark the termination of the trusts which, more or less for some two and a half centuries, had been vested in the East India Company to govern India on behalf of the Crown and people of England. So this proclamation was issued. It was a State paper full of weighty thoughts and carefully-considered expressions, and struck all men as singularly well-fitted for the occasion. Englishmen regarded it with varied feelings of general approbation, though, more or less, as a matter of course. But on the natives throughout India it produced an unexpectedly profound impression. For the first time the embodiment of the authority which had grown up among them so gradually as to be almost unperceived, became visible and audible, and spoke to them in words parental in their expressions of affection as well as of authority. The immediate effect on the native mind resembled nothing so much as the revelation of one of the Homeric divinities to some assemblage of ancient Greece ; but the effect did not speedily pass away. From that day the people of India recognized an authority common alike to themselves and their conquerors,—an authority which acknowledged duties and responsibilities as well as powers, and avowed an intention not to evade the one nor to abdicate the other.

From that day India seemed finally to acquiesce in the conviction which had been gradually coming over her, that to be ruled by England was her destiny. There was no lack of rebellious or impatient spirits, but for the time they yielded to Fate, and there was general submission to what all seemed to regard as inevitable.

And what, during the interval of thirty-five years, had been the progress of the Christian Churches ?

In the Established Church the Archdeacon and thirteen Chaplains of 1834 had increased to a Bishop with an Archdeacon and twenty-nine Chaplains and Assistant-

Chaplains. But the increase was not more than proportioned to the great increase of territory and the addition to the number of Stations, so that the working strength of the Government Clergy was still far from equal to the work to be done.

The same remark applies to the Established Kirk of Scotland, the Ministers of which had become four in place of two, as in 1835.

As to Missions maintained by the Church of England, the two ordained Missionaries employed by the Church Missionary Society in 1834 had become (including Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) twenty-six in 1868, of whom two were natives. They occupied fourteen Head-Quarter Stations, and were aided by between sixty and seventy lay teachers and catechists, and had collected a Native Church of about 1,000 baptized members.

The increase in the Missionary Agency employed in Western India in 1868 by Churches other than the Established Church of England, as compared with 1834, may be thus summarised numerically :—

The Presbyterian Churches in Scotland had—	In 1834.	In 1868.
Mission Societies at work*	1	2
Missionaries	3	12

* The first public profession of Christianity by pupils of good social position who had been educated at the General Assembly's Institution caused great excitement throughout the whole native community of Bombay : a serious breach of the peace was apprehended when the case was brought before the Supreme Court by a writ of habeas corpus addressed to the Missionaries. The case, however, was calmly and deliberately argued, and decided, after the fashion of such English Courts, on the dry point of the age or nonage of the converts, and their competence to judge for themselves in matters of conscience and religion. The result was a fresh instance of the efficacy of such appeals to reason and settled law. Notwithstanding the angry passions excited, the native community

The Irish Presbyterian Church had—						In 1834.	In 1868.
Missionaries	..	..	..	..	..	none	6
Stations	..	..	..	..	..	none	5
The United Presbyterian Churches had—							
Missionaries	..	..	..	..	..	none	10
Stations	..	..	..	..	..	none	5
Welsh Wesleyans had—							
Missionaries	..	..	..	..	..	none	3
Stations	..	..	..	..	..	none	2
The London Missionary Society and kindred Nonconformist Churches had—							
Stations	..	..	..	..	..	2	4
Missionaries	..	..	..	..	..	4	6
The Basle and other German Missionaries had in the southern provinces of Bombay—							
Stations	..	..	..	..	..		7
Missionaries	..	..	..	..	..		10
The American Churches employed*—							
Missionaries	..	..	..	..	..	6	22
Lay-Helpers	..	..	..	..	..	3	10
Principal Stations	..	..	..	..	..	2	12
Circles organized as separate Churches	..	..	..	..	..	„	23

submitted to the judgment, which was in favour of the converts' right to choose, being of full age, their own religion; and since then no conversion has occasioned more than a transient and partial feeling of excitement in the native community.

* The American Mission have been the means of bringing to Bombay a man who has made practical proof of a method of Missionary labour, which, though often suggested as an alternative for that commonly pursued, has rarely been attempted, and never with greater self-denial and devotion. For many years past, the Rev. Mr. Bowen has lived, in a crowded native bazaar, a life such as no hermit in a Libyan desert or Hindoo ascetic in a jungle solitude could surpass in its simple unaffected austerity. Labouring with his own hands in editing and printing a religious periodical, after earning the barest subsistence according to the strictest Hindoo idea of sufficiency, he has devoted his whole time to preach the Gospel in the bazaars of the native town. When questioned as to the results of his own labours, he is apt to speak of them as though they had not yielded any harvest of results visible to mortal eye. But no one who remembers the reception given to a Missionary street preacher thirty years ago, and contrasts it with the reverence

They had—	In 1834.	In 1868.
Baptized Members who were only admitted after a very rigid probation	}	1200
Common Schools where Christian children, or children of Christian parents only, were received		
Higher School	}	30
	}	1

The Church of Rome, besides the indigenous agency employed under the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa, had established, under a Vicar-Apostolic with episcopal powers, Missionaries of orders not previously engaged in that part of India.

They had—

Missionary Priests... .. .	"	52
Convents with large and admirably-managed Orphanages... .. .	}	3

In the extreme South there have been, for many years past, signs of an awakening among the Christians whose forefathers were almost the earliest converts to Christianity in India, and who are still in direct communication with the Syrian Churches. Sometimes the Reformers within these Churches seemed inclined to seek more intimate communion with the English Church, and I have seen a Syrian Bishop admitted to assist the late Bishops Wilson and Carr at an ordination in one of our own cathedrals.

It would be interesting to know more of what is actually passing within these ancient Indian Churches which trace their descent from the converts of St. Thomas and St. James. At present we know but little, and that only relates to their external history, from which it is, however, clear that they have not been insensible to the impulses which have of late years stirred every Church in Indian Christendom.

shown for Mr. Bowen by crowds who acknowledge none of the truths he preaches, can fail to be struck by the deep impression his conduct, if not his words, has made.

Space does not admit of more than the briefest possible allusion to the work of the Bible Society and of numerous Societies for providing books and tracts, and Christian literature of every kind, which have sprung up and become active in Western India during the past thirty or forty years. Good translations of the entire Bible have been made into the three principal languages, through which the Scriptures are accessible in print to at least twenty-five millions of people. The more important books of the Bible, and many Christian tracts, are now procurable in most of the dialects spoken within the portion of Western India to which we are more immediately referring, and the number of such publications is daily increasing.

It is not easy to estimate the exact effect produced by the general cheap circulation of the Christian canonical books and other literature, apart from the preaching and *vivâ-voce* explanations of the Missionaries. But any one, who is at the pains to inquire, will speedily be satisfied that the effect is so considerable as almost to justify the expressions of those who talk as if nations could be evangelized simply by the circulation of the printed Scriptures.

Missionaries and others are sometimes startled by discovering persons, and even communities, who have hardly ever seen and perhaps never heard an ordained Missionary, and who have nevertheless made considerable progress in Christian knowledge, obtained through the medium of an almost haphazard circulation of tracts and portions of Scripture.

In one instance, which I know was carefully investigated, all the inhabitants of a remote village in the Deccan had abjured idolatry and caste, removed from their temples the idols which had been worshipped there time

out of mind, and agreed to profess a form of Christianity which they had deduced for themselves from a careful perusal of a single Gospel and a few tracts. These books had not been given by any Missionary, but had been casually left with some clothes and other cast-off property by a merchant, whose name even had been forgotten, and who, as far as could be ascertained, had never spoken of Christianity to his servant, to whom he gave at parting these things with others of which he had then no further need.

That an inquisitive and intelligent though very simple people, who have few books of their own, and whose recognised indigenous teachers rarely attempt any very earnest instruction in their own religion, should readily read anything that came in their way regarding the religion of their rulers, is not more than might be naturally expected. But we must go to countries in the condition of India and China at this moment to see at work the process of elaborating from a few tracts so read, a system of Theology powerful enough to set aside an ancient and well-established creed. The process is no new one; but it is only rarely, and at a special crisis in the intellectual life of a nation, that such a phenomenon is to be observed.

From the bare statistical facts, above given, a notion may be formed of the increase which took place in the agency employed by Christian Missions in Western India between 1834 and 1868, and some sort of estimate of the work they are doing. If these figures and results were multiplied six or seven times, they would give a general idea of the increase which has taken place during the same period in all India.

But in every one of the great divisions of the empire there have appeared phenomena connected with the growth

of Missions which are peculiar or exceptional, either from their character or magnitude.

Thus, in Madras, active Missions to the Heathen had been commenced by Protestant Missionaries at the beginning of the 18th century—many years earlier than in any other part of India. After more than one generation of labour by very devoted men, the impression made seemed so small as almost to drive the Missionaries to despair of success in the apparently ungenial soil selected for their labours. Yet, after a while, a great movement took place; the natives were converted, in the course of a few years, by tens of thousands, and native churches, almost independent of further aid from without, have grown up not singly but by tens and scores.

In Bengal, where the work commenced a little later, but on a larger scale and with a better organization, the results of the labours of men like Carey, Marshman, Ward, and Duff, have been equally great in other ways, and, from their proximity to the capital of India, they have told on more influential classes, and over a wider area.

To Dr. Duff's energetic, eloquent, and most persistent advocacy of the system of offering to the natives the best possible education in English, is more particularly due that singular movement which, under one form or another, as Vedantism or Brahmoism, has completely changed the relations of the best educated youth of Bengal towards the religion of their ancestors as well as towards that of their present rulers. Nor is it easy to over-estimate the importance of labours like those of the Rev. J. Long in addressing the popular mind of the Bengalees through their own vernacular language.

Close to Bengal the German Missions to the Koles of Chota Nagpoor have numbered their converts by tens of thousands within a single generation after the Mission

was first planted, and in no part of India does the process of conversion appear to have had so marked and general a good effect on the moral and material prosperity of the people—nowhere has the adoption of Christianity had so much the appearance of a national movement.

We ought, perhaps, hardly to except even Burma, where the American Missions seem to have effected the conversion of the Karens and other tribes by whole villages and tribes at once.

In Bombay and Western India the efforts of the Scotch Free Kirk Missions, under Dr. John Wilson, to bring the results of Western civilisation to bear on the intellectual leaders of native thought, through the means of a thoroughly sound English education, have had an effect as great as the labour of Dr. Duff and his fellow-missionaries in Bengal; and there have been peculiarities in the work of Dr. Wilson which render it especially interesting. Among the classes to whom he has addressed himself are the energetic, liberal-minded, and practical Parsees—the various classes of Maharatta and Guzeratti Brahmans and Purvoes, all specially important from their diverse intellectual capabilities, besides communities of Jews whose future history promises to be full of interest for their Christian brethren. He has also paid special attention to more than one of the numerous jungle tribes of the Western coast.

The history of the American Missions in Bombay presents many features of the highest importance. The Missionaries have, of late years, abandoned general secular education as a Missionary work; they have concentrated their efforts on a limited tract of country, and have addressed themselves to the lower rather than to the higher classes of society, and their success has been every way most striking.

In the Punjab, also, there are symptoms of a movement, not by individuals but by communities.

Statistical facts, however, can in no way convey any adequate idea of the work done in any part of India. The effect is often enormous where there has not been a single avowed conversion, and is manifested in very different ways, according to the nationality, the creed, and even the professions in life, and place of residence, urban or rural, of the native community.

But it can hardly be estimated without a glance at what has, during the same period of time, been going on within the Christian Churches themselves.

Not one of the Churches which sends Missionaries to India occupies precisely the same position, with regard to the rest of Christendom, which it did forty years ago ; and any change which takes place within the parent Church in the West, tells on its Missions much more directly and rapidly now than was the case formerly.

Our own Church has passed through the ordeal of what is called the Tractarian movement. The old landmarks of the High and Low Churches, as they existed fifty years ago, are no longer to be found in their old places—the shibboleths of partisanship are much changed, a Ritualistic and a Broad Church have grown up and trenched considerably on both the great Church parties of the last generation. Zealous men talk as if the seamless garment were hopelessly rent in innumerable fragments, and as if all fixed standards of belief were abolished. But to one who returns after a long absence from England, and anxiously looks for the signs of permanent growth or decay, there appears much more ground for hope than for misgiving. If population in England has greatly increased, and if luxury, poverty, and many forms of vice have increased with it, the net

balance seems far from unfavourable to vital religion. Churches, pastors, services, and all means of grace connected with the Established Church, have increased in far greater ratio than the population. If there are more men who are sceptical on many points of great, it may be of vital, importance, there seem fewer in a state of pure formalism, of virtual heathenism, and of practical unbelief. If increasing numbers claim to regulate their own conduct and belief by no other rule than that which their own consciences approve, there also appears a vast increase in the proportion of those who seek to enlighten their consciences by personal prayer and communion with the Almighty, by earnest study of His Word, and by habitual reference to those few and simple articles of belief which formed the staple of the teaching by the Sea of Galilee, and of Apostolic preaching from St. Paul's at Damascus to St. John's in Patmos, and regarding which universal Christendom, as distinguished from other religions, has hitherto been at one.

There has been an extraordinary development of active Missionary energy at the same time. The Missionary efforts made during the past thirty years would alone, in the eyes of any impartial observer, be sufficient to prove the great internal vitality of the Church and its system.

If we look to Scotland, the impression left is much the same. The Disruption, which seemed to threaten the existence of the great Presbyterian Church a generation ago, has certainly infused new life into a body nowise deficient before in vigorous vitality; nor does there appear to be the slightest reason to fear that Scotland collectively will in future exercise less influence in Christendom or in Heathendom than she has done at any time since the days of John Knox.

If we turn to the great Nonconformist bodies in either

kingdom, we do not find any symptoms of diminished strength, nor any complaints of impaired vitality. If the removal of political tests and disabilities has lessened the necessity for what may be called the outward uniform of the Nonconformist champions, if there is less care to mark separation of opinion by differences in architecture, in manner, in dress, in language, and other externals and non-essentials, and less bitterness, in feeling as well as in expression, there is no evidence of any inclination to compromise in matters of principle. There is even, if possible, a stronger assertion than formerly of all rights of private judgment, and increased disinclination to admit of external interference in matters spiritual. Somewhat of the old Puritanical sternness may have departed, but only because the position assumed is now felt to be too strong to be assailed.

There appears equally little external evidence of decaying vitality in the great Church which owns Rome as its centre. She is still described by her votaries as unchanged and unchangeable. But to those without her pale, a revolution which, to some of them, bears all the appearance of incipient reformation, seems to have begun within the last forty years, which may very materially alter her position as one of the greatest Churches of Christendom, but which meanwhile denotes no decay of vital force.

Losses in some of her ancient dominions are compensated by gains elsewhere ; and they are not acquisitions of dead spiritless matter, but rather of elements which, however foreign to the general leaning of her teaching for centuries past, are not likely to remain dormant or inactive.

How they may modify her action is still to be seen.

That she will continue the Church of those to whom

sacerdotal authority is, above all other elements, essential in religion, is compatible with many imaginable changes. The revolution may be in the direction contemplated by her rulers when they selected the reactionary path on which they are entering; or it may be that to which experience would point as more likely to result from the strange allies who have been brought in, ostensibly to aid the backward movement.

But whatever the issue, there is certainly no symptom of weakness or wavering in her Missionary work. Since the days of the Crusaders the spirit of proselytism has never been more developed than of late years in the Missionaries sent out by Rome, and those directed to the East are in no way inferior in numbers or energy to those who are sent to other portions of her field of labour.

Thus, to whatever part of the Christian camp our attention is directed, the same result of increased activity and evidence of vitality is apparent. Comparing the attitude which Christendom now generally assumes towards those who are openly or secretly hostile to Christianity, with the general attitude of forty years back, the change is that from the camp asleep at midnight to the host mustering for the hour of battle.

It is true that myriads of enemies, and dangers unseen and undreamed of during the hours of darkness and repose, now appear to threaten the position, and many of them are formidable enough to appal even the most confident. Many waverers are still in doubt which side to choose. Many discords exist among the most faithful divisions of the champions of the Cross—many jealousies among their leaders, which may give fatal openings to the foe. But all are alert, and few seek to shun the shock of battle.

No human eye can foresee the result, nor judge whether it will be more or less decisive than that of any previous

conflict during thousands of years past; but there is no apparent falling off in the numbers or energy of those who have for their watchword the cause of God and His Christ.

In the East the same spirit is manifested, with the same varying characteristics, by the different bodies of Missionaries who have been sent forth by all the Western Churches. It is everywhere an active advancing spirit, urging those who are animated by it to go on conquering and to conquer. Whatever its difficulties and discouragements, it shows no disposition to retreat or act on the defensive, and the measure of its success has in the last generation been neither small nor doubtful.

Let us look more narrowly at the effect produced on the various divisions of those who are arrayed on the other side in opposition to Christianity.

As already stated, the effect varies so much, according to the race, creed, the profession in life, and the residence of those to whom the Missionaries address themselves, that it is almost impossible to generalise.

It is necessary to select a few typical instances; and one of the most prominent in many ways, and for many reasons, as relating to the effect on urban Hindoos, is presented by the Brahmoism of Bengal. This sect—if the professors of Brahmoism can be called a sect—may be regarded as an example of the effect of Christian teaching on those classes which have for ages monopolized the learned professions in India, and which, till within the last generation, had almost exclusive possession of the keys of learning, and of all but the barest rudiments of education.

Brahmoism is of very modern growth.

We have hardly yet got out of the habit of regarding Hindooism, the most protean and varying of religions, as something stereotyped and unchangeable. But general

readers about India will know that the Archaic Hindooism of the Vedas was something very different from that of the Hindoos who lived in the days when Buddhism and Brahmanism contended for supremacy. They also know that the Brahmanism which obtained the mastery, and almost annihilated Buddhism in Hindostan some eight or ten centuries ago, was again very different from that Brahmanism which our ancestors found existing in Bengal, modified as that had been, in the interval, by the more modern Puranic additions, and by the influence of several ages of Mohammedan rule.

This form of Brahmanism had, less than a century ago, every prospect of a prolonged tenure of power in Bengal. It was hedged round with restrictions of caste, and with monopolies in all the principal professions and means of employment known in Bengal, from the highest to the lowest, which went far to stereotype and fossilise all social life.

The English Government and the commercial community of those early days seemed equally indisposed to disturb a condition of things which rendered foreign rule almost an inevitable necessity, and which did not, at first sight, appear unfavourable to commerce.

It was not in the nature of things that a community, which represented, however imperfectly, the laws and constitution, the religion and civilisation, of England in the 18th century, should be placed in the midst of Bengal, without powerfully affecting the intellectual and moral condition of the Bengalees, who yield to no people of the ancient or modern civilised world in their natural fondness and aptitude for the discussion of theology, morals, and all that relates to the theory of social government.

But the change, which might have been long deferred,

had the British Government or mercantile community of that day alone been consulted, was precipitated by two knots of men, with whose action neither statesmen nor merchants had much to do.

A Northamptonshire Baptist shoemaker, joined by a few men as earnest as himself, but not much richer in worldly goods than the fishermen of Galilee, succeeded in establishing themselves as Christian Missionaries close to the British capital of Bengal ; and there, in spite of very active opposition from the British Government, and very serious discouragements of every kind, they set up printing presses, translated the Christian Scriptures into many Indian languages, printed and distributed them, and sent forth from their presses English and native newspapers and periodicals, which, if they were not the first of their kind published in India, speedily surpassed all others in excellence in their several departments.

These men were not actually the first Protestant Missionaries who preached in India, for they had been preceded by Danes, Germans, and Englishmen, who, however few in number, had from the beginning of the last century never left India without some witness of Christian truth, as taught by the Protestant Churches of Europe ; but to Carey, Marshman, and Ward, and their fellow-labourers, belongs, beyond all question, the honour of establishing the first Missions, after the pattern of which such a multitude have since overspread India, and they in no small degree contributed to that wonderful revival of the Missionary spirit in modern Europe dating from the same era as the French Revolution.

About the time that these men began to make themselves heard in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, a great internal movement was taking place within the strictest sect of Bengal Brahmanism.

The movement was led by Rajah Ramahoun Roy, a man who would have been remarkable in any age and in any country for intellectual power and wise patriotism, joined to an unusual gift of clear practical common sense: perhaps the rarest of all qualities in men who habitually see far in advance of their contemporaries.

He speedily became the leader of a small but influential band of the best educated and most intellectual of his countrymen, who were all more or less affected by the influence which Christianity was already beginning to exert; though often feebly and in a manner rather indicating repulsion from than attraction to the religion of the Western races.

These Hindoo reformers generally began with an attack on some part of Christianity or its adjuncts; but the more they discussed, the less they seemed satisfied with the position of the great body of their fellow-countrymen, and the result was that they gradually built up for themselves new forms of Hindooism, which to bystanders appeared totally unlike anything that had ever been derived from Hindoo sources before, and which the reformers vainly hoped might prove permanent as well as orthodox.

First, they attempted, by rejecting all modern additions and developments, to revert to those pure precepts of monotheistic Hindooism which they imagined were to be found in the Vedas, and most ancient of their own Scriptures.

Few possessed, and fewer still could read or understand, these ancient writings; and, for a while, the early Hindoo reformers of the present century seemed to have convinced themselves that everything commending itself to their own reason and conscience would be found in their Vedas.

But they speedily became aware that those Ancient

Hymns, whatever they might contain of sublime poetry, & of mythology very different from modern Hindooism, were, in no sense, monotheistic—that they contained no theory either of morals adapted to this life, or of theology relating to another, which could in any way satisfy the wants of modern Hindoos who had once got adrift from the anchorage of blind obedience to their family priests.

Ramahoun Roy himself seems to have found rest for his soul in a belief which differed little from that of a philosophical Unitarian of this century; but few of his followers got so far, and of the few who did, the major part went further, and became, openly or in secret, believers in Christianity as taught by one or other of the Missions established in Bengal.

But the major part elaborated for themselves another form of Hindooism—called by them Brahmoism, after their name for the Great Spirit—which comes nearer to the Christian's conception of the One Eternal God than any other Being recognised by the generality of Hindoos.

It is difficult to give any definite description of a creed which seems to change from year to year, and of which it has been truly said,* that at one time its votaries assert that Sacred Writings alone contain Truth, at another that the Works of Nature alone give Light; that at one time their God is all Love, at another all Justice; that the system now is Atheistic, now Pantheistic; that the doctrine of an Intercessor is at one time rejected with contempt, at another not only adopted but carried further than in any other known religion,—inasmuch as the Leader of the Intellectual and Eclectic Deism of India is addressed as the Mediator between God and man, having himself very recently propounded the doctrine,—that every

* *Vide* "Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society" for 1868-69.

remarkable man is as much a Divine Incarnation as was Christ.

But the fairest mode of judging of their tenets is to let them speak for themselves.

The following may be taken as a recent and authoritative account of the present phase of the belief of an influential member of the Brahma Samaj.* It is abridged from an anniversary lecture† delivered early in this year at Calcutta. The lecturer starts by describing the love of freedom as the chief characteristic of the present age—freedom in all the departments of speculation and practice—in politics—in education—in society—in religion. Sceptics as to old doctrines and dogmas, men anxiously look forward to the Church of the future. Theology must harmonize, if possible, conflicting views, and determine “where all religious movements are likely to meet and unite in future” (p. 2). For many reasons, the sincere

* The Baboo Kesub Chunder Sen, who has since visited England, and personally expounded his views in many public addresses. Four of his most comprehensive discourses delivered in Calcutta have also been republished here by Allen and Co., Waterloo Place; and an excellent summary of his opinions and doctrine was subsequently given by Miss Collett in the “Contemporary Review” for February last, and has been republished in a separate form as “Indian Theism and its relation to Christianity.” To these I would refer any reader who wishes to judge for himself how far the Baboo’s views represent Christianity or Hinduism as hitherto taught, or as fairly deducible from any generally acknowledged standard expositions of either religion; and how far such views are likely to be found, by the world at large, or by any great division of it, a sufficient substitute for the Gospel which Christian Missionaries for close on two thousand years, have been striving to preach to every people. 1870.

† “The Future Church. A Lecture delivered on the thirty-ninth anniversary of the Brahma Samaj, in the Town Hall, Calcutta, on Saturday, 23rd Jan., 1869. Calcutta: printed at the Indian Mirror Press, 53, College Street. 1869.”

believer must be assured that the Church to which he belongs has not only a glorious past but also a glorious future—"the true Church must be the future Church," hence every sincere believer is bound, "for the sake of truth and salvation," to decide what is to be "the future Church of the world" (p. 8).

In answering this question, the lecturer promises to follow, as far as possible, the lessons of history—not the visions of fancy.

History, he says, tells us "there are two poles of the axis of thought on which the mind revolves." Two opposite ideas always struggling against each other; and when the mind is repelled from one, it is generally impelled towards the other. Thus we see a perpetual struggle between Materialism and Worldliness on the one side, against Idealism and Mysticism on the other—between authority and freedom in matters of thought.

Moreover, he tells us, History shows that no religious system is wholly false. Hence we may not entirely condemn any creed, nor hate its followers.

Again, History assures us that, endless as are the religious differences between various sects and epochs, the parallelisms are equally remarkable. It is the same human nature everywhere working. This enables us to understand "why certain evils—idolatry and superstition, for instance—have been reproduced in different forms in the world's history, from time to time, in spite of attempts to prevent them," and we should be prepared to see them reappear (p. 7).

There are three elementary and fundamental ideas which enter into all theological as well as philosophical thought and speculation; namely, "mind, matter, and God."

These give rise to different creeds and philosophical schools, according as exclusive importance is attached to

one or the other ; but we cannot eliminate any of these ideas from theology ; all we need do is to harmonize them. " Too much devotion to material objects, and an abnormal feeling of astonishment at their sublimity and power," lead to idolatry and polytheism. " Too much concentration of the mind on self and its exclusion from the external world," lead to idealism and pantheism ; hero worship to " prophetism ;" all these arise " from mistaken identification of one or other of the two created realities—mind and matter—with the Creator." Such errors are to be prevented or remedied by adjusting the mutual relations of these " three primary facts" (p. 9).

" True theology must not only admit the reality of the material world, but recognise its important functions and uses in the economy of man's redemption, while it must condemn, in the most unqualified manner, anything approaching to the worship of matter."

The material universe is a great religious teacher. When men superstitiously regard it, not as God's creation, but as the Creator itself, they are drawn away into idolatry or nature worship. We may " recognise matter as God's holy work, and let it help us to know and love Him ; but we must not kneel down and worship it as God" (p. 11).

So also " the importance of mind as another revelation of God must be recognised, and its legitimate uses in the matter of our salvation rightly determined." The soul of man is something made in the image of its Maker ; and " in a condition of piety," in prayer and in Communion with Him, " we feel His direct inspiration." The abuse of this feeling—the result of too much devotion to the spirit—is soul-worship—pantheism.

Besides the general respect due to every mind, peculiar respect is due to superior minds. Hence greater honour is justly paid to God's more devoted servants, " good men—

reformers and prophets," than to dead matter or ordinary humanity. The abuse of this feeling is man-worship—deification of the prophet—who, instead of being honoured as a teacher, has been worshipped as God in human form (p. 14).

"The future Church will steer clear of all these shoals." Matter, Mind, and Greatness of character will be recognised—nature-worship, self-worship, and hero-worship must be avoided. But how will these three fundamental "facts of consciousness" be respected, and yet the Unity of God maintained? This is the great question to be resolved by the future Church. "In its solution we shall find an effective safeguard against the three forms of false worship and the positive establishment of unitarian worship. In other words, the realisation of the grand doctrine of Unity in Trinity." "Unity of the Divinity"—"trinity of Divine manifestations."

"Thus is all false worship—that of nature, self, and greatness—rendered impossible."

"In this harmony will all the struggles and wranglings between contending systems of worship ultimately end." "Thus shall all Churches blend together in the Church of the One True God, and all the false Deities they now worship shall be reduced to a beautiful created Trinity, subordinate to the Highest Divine unity of the Creator." Idolatry, Pantheism, and Man-worship will be denounced, not only as errors, but as high-treason against the Most High. As regards these three evils, the future Church will be "unsparingly destructive,"—"will pull down with iconoclastic fury all temples where any such false worship prevails;" but from the ruins will reserve and preserve all that is good. The future Church will be "representative,"—"will satisfy all real wants and necessities of nature;" the delusions, errors, and sins of the idolater, the pantheist,

the prophet-worshipper "will certainly be destroyed," but the genuine aspirations of their nature will be duly satisfied. "Instead of a hundred hostile Churches, there shall be upreared, in fulness of time, one vast Cathedral, where all mankind shall worship with one heart the Supreme Creator" (p. 18).

Thus multiplicity of prevalent systems of worship are "harmonized in the future Church." Next comes the harmony of doctrines. The answer of "that immortal son of God, Jesus," "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbour as thyself," is "the essence of true religion," "simply and exhaustively expounded." The fulness and completeness of these "fundamental principles of ethics and religion" is expounded at some length, and with greater clearness, than the rest of the Lecture.

The Gospel of the future Church is, we are told, to be the Gospel of God's infinite mercy, and on this doctrine the lecturer is both full, clear, and eloquent. "The only true gospel of salvation" is "the Parable of the Prodigal Son." "The future Church will not seek salvation in books or men, in ceremonies or articles of faith; but it will call on individuals and nations to put their faith in the only true Gospel of salvation—God's infinite and all-conquering mercy" (p. 27).

Such is the "worship, creed, and gospel" of the "universal Church of the future." In conclusion, the lecturer observes with special reference to India, that to denounce either Mohammedanism or Hindooism as wholly false, indicates "the spirit of sectarian antipathy." There must be some truth and purity in both systems worthy of honour. They cannot be destroyed, they must be purified and developed till both, hitherto so hostile to

each other, ultimately "harmonize to form the future Church of India" (p. 28).

The Hindoo god, we are informed, is the Infinite Spirit dwelling in His own glory, pervading all space, full of peace and joy. The Mohammedan god is infinite in power, governing the universe with supreme authority as Lord of All. Hence the Hindoo's religion is quiet contemplation, that of the Mohammedan active service—blended together, these two elements will form a "beautiful picture of true theology," which will be realised by harmonious coalition in the future Church of India. Its creed will be "a composite faith," "combining the profound devotion of the one and the heroic enthusiasm of the other" (p. 29).

"As regards Christianity," we will quote at length the lecturer's own words:—

"As regards Christianity, and its relation to the future Church of India, I have no doubt in my mind that it will exercise great influence on the growth and formation of that Church.

"The spirit of Christianity has already pervaded the whole atmosphere of Indian society, and we breathe, think, feel, and move in a Christian atmosphere.

"Native society is being roused, enlightened, and reformed under the influence of Christian education. If it is true that the future of a nation is determined by all the circumstances and agencies, which to-day influence its nascent growth, surely the future Church of this country will be the result of the purer elements of the leading creeds of the day—harmonized, developed, and shaped under the influence of Christianity.

"But the future Church of India must be thoroughly national; it must be an essentially Indian Church. The future religion of the world I have described will be the common religion of all nations; but in each nation it will have an indigenous growth, and assume a distinctive and peculiar character.

"All mankind will unite in a universal Church; at the same time, it will be adapted to the peculiar circumstances of each nation, and assume a national form.

"No country will borrow or mechanically imitate the religion of

another country ; but from the depths of the life of each nation its future Church will naturally grow up. And shall not India have its own National Church ?

“ Dr. Norman Macleod, in expounding, last year, in this very hall, his ideas of the future Church of this country, said emphatically that it would be a purely Indian Church, and not a reproduction of any of the Established Churches of the West.

“ Though I differ from that learned and liberal-minded gentleman in regard to the doctrines and tenets of that Church, as set forth by him, I fully agree with him that that Church must have a strictly national growth and a national organization.

“ Neither will Germany adopt the religious life of China.

“ Nor will India accept blindly that of England, or of any other European country.

“ India has religious traditions and associations, tastes and customs peculiarly sacred and dear to her, just as every other country has ; and it is idle to expect that she will forego these. Nay, she cannot do so, as they are interwoven with her very life.

“ In common with all other nations and communities, we shall embrace the Theistic worship, creed, and gospel of the future Church. We shall acknowledge and adore the Holy One, accept the love and service of God and man as our creed, and put our firm faith in God's almighty grace, as the only means of our redemption.

“ But we shall do all this in a strictly national and Indian style.

“ We shall see that the future Church is not thrust upon us, but that we independently and naturally grow into it—that it does not come to us as a foreign plant, but that it strikes its roots deep in the national heart of India, draws its sap from our national resources, and develops itself with all the freshness and vigour of indigenous growth.

“ One religion shall be acknowledged by all men : one God shall be worshipped throughout the length and breadth of the world : the same spirit of faith and love shall pervade all hearts : all nations shall dwell together in the Father's house, yet each shall have its own peculiar and free mode of action.

“ There shall, in short, be unity of spirit, but diversity of forms : one body, but different limbs : one vast community, with members labouring in different ways, and according to their respective resources and peculiar tastes to advance their common cause.

“ Thus India shall sing the glory of the Supreme Lord, with Indian voice and with Indian accompaniments, and so shall England and America, and the various races and tribes and nations of the world, with their own peculiar voice and music, sing His glory ;

but all their different voices and peculiar modes of chanting shall commingle in one sweet swelling chorus: one universal anthem, proclaiming in solemn and stirring notes, in the world below and the heavens above, the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

"May the merciful Lord hasten the advent of the true Church, and establish peace and harmony among His children. And as His name has been solemnly chanted to-night in this splendid hall, by an immense concourse of worshippers of various races and tribes, so may all His children assemble in His Holy mansions, and, blending their million voices in one grand chorus, glorify Him—time without end."

Any abridgment, of course, does very imperfect justice to an address of this kind, but not in the way of exaggerating the want of precision in the use of terms, or the general vagueness and illogical character of all the affirmative theological statements, unless where they are borrowed almost bodily from the Bible. The student of modern English, German, or American metaphysics will recognise many an old acquaintance in the negative portions; but the most striking peculiarity is the almost entire absence of any genuine Hindoo element in the theology. There is not a sentence which might not have been written by a deistical reader of moral philosophy in an European University, who had never heard the name of any Hindoo Deity.

This clearly is not the sort of material which can either cement together the disintegrated particles of Hindoo society, or which, if it did, could long withstand the shock of hostile criticism. It lays no claim to any authority or standard stronger or more accurate than the believer's conscience, and is therefore liable to infinite variations, not only at different times and in different people, but in the same individual at different periods of his life. It might satisfy an enthusiastic dreamer as long as he could live in a cloud-land of his own invention;

but to men struggling in practical life it offers no guide or support, and there is scarcely a page of the New Testament which would not be more acceptable than the whole body of Brahmoist divinity, to one oppressed by the difficulties of this world, or by doubts regarding the next.

Yet such as it is, it forms the sole alternative, short of bold unbelief, which has hitherto been presented to the Hindoo, who, revolting from his ancestral faith as interpreted by the family priest, yet hesitates to accept Christianity.

The inherent weakness of the position taken up by the Brahmoists is rendered more conspicuous by the ability displayed in some of the controversial writings on the other side, which have been published by natives, converts to Christianity. One of these,* by a converted Maharatta Brahman, professes to come from an unlearned pen. But the argumentative power, as well as the thoroughly Christian spirit, with which it is written would do no discredit to any Doctor of Divinity in any University in Europe.

Brahmoism cannot as yet be said to have extended much beyond the educated natives of Bengal; but its importance consists in the fact that it very fairly represents the general effect which Christianity and the Western intellectual culture, which takes its character from Christianity, produce when brought in contact with Brahmanism in its purely religious aspect. Political considerations, such as largely mingle with the Brahmanism of Maharattas, Sikhs, and other races who have lately exercised sovereign power and also commercial

* "A Letter to the Brahmos, from a converted Brahman of Benares. 2nd edit. Allahabad. 1868." It is written by Nehe-miah (Nila Kantha) Goreh, and is dated Calcutta, Aug. 1867.

pursuits, modify the effects in various ways, and so do rural occupations and constant intercourse with races more or less non-Aryan or anti-Brahmanical.

Before referring to races who are not Hindoos by descent, and whose religion is probably older than the popular Brahmanism, and, in some respects, antagonistic to it, we must briefly describe the effect of Christian Missions on the Mohammedans—a creed which embraces men of every race in India, and of every variety of national character, from the Belooch Highlander, brawny of limb and slow of intellect, the type of stubborn untutored barbarous fidelity and courage, or the magnificent Afghan, showy, brilliant, and fickle, down to the lithe and diminutive hero of many a sensational tale, whose so-called “feline characteristics” of person and disposition are generally caricatured from the natives of the damper regions of Southern or Eastern India.

Sometimes the Mohammedans form almost the entire population throughout large provinces; sometimes they are scattered in single families in the midst of men of other creeds; but a few are found almost throughout India, and their religious peculiarities are everywhere conspicuous, and render them easily distinguishable from the rest of the population. Many are direct descendants of the countrymen, some even of the family, of the prophet of Arabia. Many more are converts from among the Hindoos, of every age, from the earliest Moslem invasion to the present day.

It has been debated whether the Crusades, or Blue-beard and other fictions in which Mohammedan heroes figure, have had most share in forming the modern popular ideal of Mohammedanism. Certainly no melodramatist's hero ever departed more widely from the truth of nature, or gave less of a clue to the real motives

of human action, than does the ordinary Englishman's notion of the creeds and moral codes of Mohammedans.

If the writings of some modern authors, and especially of Dr. Deutsch, gives us a portrait which is somewhat too favourable, they at all events place within popular reach the keys of a right understanding of all that is special and peculiar in Mohammedan belief and ethics, by tracing the derivation of the Talmud from the Mosaic law, and the intimate connection of Mohammedanism with Talmudical Judaism and Christianity.

Dr. Deutsch's essays or Mr. Palgrave's, or Burkhardt's descriptions of the religion they found in Arabia, will show by comparison with any sketch of Hindooism, how little there is in common between the two systems. The bond between Hindoo and Mohammedan, in fact, is almost always one simply of race or nationality; and, when this is allowed for, it will be found that the true affinity of creed in the Mohammedan is rather with Christianity than with Hindooism.

Unfortunately, such intellectual affinities of creed do not, even among Christians, always conduce to community of feelings; and, in the case of Mohammedans, the fact that theirs had been an imperial creed in India, and Christianity had supplanted it, would for ages prevent any toleration save that with which the decrees of fate and inevitable necessity are regarded.

But within the last few years a very curious change has been coming over the feeling of at least the educated portion of the Mohammedans, with regard to Christianity. Converse, and still more controversy, with Christians, have led the Mohammedans to a more careful and critical examination of many Scriptures which they, as well as we, regard as the sacred utterances of inspired men, but which, till of late, had been generally neglected for the

study of later and exclusively Mohammedan authors. The same prophecies which we read are read by the Mohammedan, and frequently the same canons of interpretation are applied to them—notably with regard to those portions which relate to the chronology of the events foretold, so that Christian and Mohammedan are found agreeing as to the dates to which particular prophecies apply, even when they differ as to the persons or dynasties referred to. This is particularly the case with regard to the numbers specified in the concluding chapters of the book of Daniel. I have known instances where the result deduced by the interpreter had been popularised, and passed into a tradition current among people who had no notion whence it was derived. Many of these interpretations point to great changes which are to take place in this century and about our own age. The first impulse of the Mohammedan interpreter is naturally to find, in prophecies of history and power, promises to his own people, and, in the denunciations of evil, a foreshadowing of vengeance which is to overtake his enemies. But sometimes events and facts are too strong to be bent to support such interpretations, and the general result of this study of prophecy is to exercise a depressing effect on the Mohammedan student regarding the future of his creed. This impression passes beyond the theological student into popular belief, and extends to many other races and creeds. Thus, during the mutiny years, the conviction that the terms of days foretold by Daniel pointed to some great catastrophe to Islam, depressed and unnerved many a thoughtful Mohammedan, and a vague popular tradition, grounded on the same prophecy, helped to confirm even Hindoos in their belief that the Christian power must ultimately triumph.

From this and other causes, the Mohammedan contro-

versalist of to-day is less confident and less sanguine of victory than of old. There is less expectation of triumph for Islam under the existing order of things—there is more disposition to look for the visible inauguration of a new era. The advent of the Imaum Mehdi who is to come to judgment preparatory to a renewal of all things, and the punishment of the unconverted, are eagerly anticipated by Mohammedan enthusiasts; and our Lord is often associated with the Imaum, or with a reappearance of Mohammed, in the vision of the future, to which other details are added apparently borrowed from our own popular interpretations of Prophecy. Of all this, as far as I have been able to ascertain, little trace was to be found in the popular expectations of the Mohammedans of a single generation ago.

We are not likely to see in Mohammedanism any eclectic phase such as we are now witnessing in Hindooism; modifications of this character appear incompatible with the simple and definite principles of the creed. But a revolution of some kind seems impending, the popular feeling regarding it among Mohammedans themselves is not one of hopefulness, and the Christian Missionary is now listened to by the young Mohammedan student with an inclination to examine what he says, of which the Missionary of thirty years back saw few examples.*

We must now refer to those vast communities, aggregating, according to some statisticians, 40 millions of souls, whose creeds, varying from Sabeanism to the grossest kind of Fetichism, have little in common with anything

* Very curious illustrations of the present feeling of the Mohammedans of Northern India towards Christianity will be found in the Autobiography of the Rev. Imaduddeen, a converted Mohammedan, translated by the Rev. R. Clark, and lately published by the Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, 1869.

belonging to the Hindoo Pantheon, equally little with Mohammedanism.

Many considerable nations of such people live apart, and form the entire population of large provinces ; sometimes, but not always, consisting of mountainous, unhealthy, or inaccessible country. Many more are scattered throughout the Hindoo communities in a kind of, Helotage. They appear to be the remnants of aboriginal races, or of immigrants anterior to what we recognise as the Aryan races, and of quite a different stock. Some of these, who claim to be Autocthones or their immediate conquerors of a pre-Aryan period, seem to have been subsequently driven into the fastnesses of forest and mountain, while others were reduced to bondage and serfdom by later Aryan invaders.

It is only of late years that the progress of ethnological and historical research has clearly proved these races to have a different origin and history from those of the Hindoo nations which surround them, or among whom they are interspersed. Wherever they are found, whether as separate tribes or as helots and serfs, among the purer Hindoo races, they are generally more accessible to the truths preached by the Christian Missionary, than the Hindoos. They are free from many prejudices, and from some characteristic vices of their more advanced and fortunate neighbours, though they have other failings peculiarly their own. Like all races which have long been kept in a position of distinct inferiority, they gladly listen to any teaching which does not inculcate the unchangeable perfection of things as they are. Locally they are known to the Hindoos, especially where the races live to some extent intermingled, by a variety of names, implying not, as we are apt to call them, that they are "*outcastes*," for most of them have never belonged to

any regular Hindoo caste ; but that they are “ outsiders ” or “ extra-muralists.” In all well-organized Hindoo towns and villages in the plain country they are made to dwell apart, generally outside the town or village walls, if there are any. They have their own houses, wells, etc., which they can use without defiling their fellow-townsmen, and have each their own share of the work of the community assigned to them.

It is difficult to convey to one who has never witnessed it an idea of the practical working of this state of things, especially on the social, moral, and religious relations of the people.

Perhaps the nearest approach to it would be by imagining that in a large English rural township the descendants of the various successive races—the earlier and later Celts, the Picts and Romans, the Saxons, Danes, Normans, and later immigrants from Germany or France—all lived together in peace, but perfectly distinct ; and never intermarrying, save Celt with Celt, Saxon with Saxon, Norman with Norman.

Let us suppose that these races had divided among themselves in ages long gone by, not only the lands of the village, but all occupations, crafts, and trades ; that every one kept rigorously to the work or profession of his father, and that each family guild or community governed itself by an unwritten code of customary law, to which all paid implicit obedience, under pain of excommunication, social, professional, and religious, so rigorous as far to exceed in severity any ecclesiastical censure of the middle Ages.

Everywhere prominent among these Indian communities we find Brahmans, of various families and clans, but all of common ancestry. They were an ancient race, claiming descent from the gods, when Alexander the

Great invaded India, and then and ever since have asserted their right to the sole possession of the keys of knowledge ; and though not uniformly successful, they have managed, while nominally abjuring all interest in worldly affairs, to absorb every kind of worldly power. No Norman clergy, in the palmiest days of ecclesiastical supremacy, exercised half the authority which has for ages been conceded to the Brahmans throughout India.

Such a village community as I have described possesses a vitality unknown in any other form of society with which I am acquainted ; and to its peculiarities may be ascribed the extraordinary manner in which civilisation and order survive in India all shocks of political revolution, war, pestilence, and famine.

In the ties which bind the community together are included not only the laws, written and unwritten, of caste, and religious observance as by usage established, but of municipal and guild government. How they grew up no one knows. Charters and old records tell us little of their history. We only know that they have existed for ages ; that no one in the village can tell of times when they did not exist, and that till we came into the country the ancient usage, which they could plead, was found a sufficient sanction for their observance.

It is of little importance to the village at large, as compared with any European community, who rules at the distant capital. Individual members, and sometimes large branches of the whole body of inhabitants, may have an ethnological or even a personal interest in the question whether Hindoo or Mohammedan, Sikh or Englishman, reigns supreme. But it is long before the village, as a body, learns to care whether King or Emperor, Grand Duke or Robber Knight, establishes his claim to reign without a superior or sovereign lord over

him. Whoever comes must have revenue for his exchequer, and revenue will come in large quantities only by tilling the land, and the land will not be tilled unless people are let alone, and live in order and quiet. This simple sequence is more or less present to the mind of every prudent native administrator; and his general object will be "to let the people alone," to group themselves under their old local officials and fellow-workers, according to their traditionary usages, to cultivate and to thrive; assured that the working bees will make honey fast enough, in due time; and that at the proper season, and with ordinary care, the careful beemaster, who knows what he is about, may take his full share of the accumulation, year after year, without starving or driving away the swarm.

I speak of the prudent administrator; of course avarice and incompetence, or favouritism, may delay or spoil the result; may bring in Court favourites, or revenue farmers, or rack-renters in one form or another, and starve the hive. But, as a rule, it requires a more thorough political revolution, a more powerful central government, and stronger and more persistent elements of change than any the country had seen until we came to it, to make such permanent alteration in, or do much permanent damage to, the village agricultural and industrial corporations.

Almost any old Indian, who has lived much in remote rural districts not yet recovered from a visitation of war or famine, will recall many instances of the wonderful vitality of village organization which he has there witnessed.

The village may have been for generations a desolate heap of ruins; the village lands untilled, and relapsed into forest; not an inhabitant to be found within miles. But when peace and quiet are restored, and it is told round the country-side that a good ruler has appeared in the land,

and that the old land holders are invited back, straightway they come from all quarters. Each cultivator finds out and ploughs the waste fields his father, or, it may be, his grandsire, tilled ; each artisan returns to his old work, as if he had never left it, and receives payment in kind at the old rates, and at the old seasons, with the old forms ; and, above all, the Brahmins of the old families bear rule none the less absolute, because they profess immunity from all care for mundane interests.

For many years after the introduction of direct British rule, the cultivators in such a village have a halcyon time of it. The soil, after its long rest, is unusually fertile ; assessments are light ; they have to do with but one master, and he is usually not only all-powerful, but active, intelligent, and benevolent ; a selected English officer, who understands their ways and their *patois*, and who, if he were only less overwhelmed with work, and less frequently changed, would be no bad representation of a mundane providence.

But, as the newly-conquered province becomes gradually assimilated to the rest of the empire, the work of administration gets divided among diverse centralized departments, and a process commences which, in a generation or two, and sometimes in a much shorter time, gradually but surely dissolves the ties which have for ages held together the rural community under every trial of war, tyranny, or providential visitation.

The process is by no means a simple one, and it is much easier to find fault with it than to suggest remedies ; but it is so important, as affecting the whole structure of rural society in India, and, indirectly, is so much connected with the religious questions before us, that it deserves the closest scrutiny by all who are interested in Missions.

The first change the villagers note is a diminution of power in their rulers. As years roll on, they see that the

officers in immediate communication with them have less authority than at first, and are less prompt and decided in using what they have. The reasons are plain enough to us, but they are a puzzle to the villagers, who seldom get beyond the obvious "Ah! the 'Sahibs' of this generation are not such rulers of man as in our young days."

Then power and responsibility become every day more separated. At first, one "Sahib" concentrated all authority in himself. If any one else came to lay out roads, to build bridges, or to measure fields, he was clearly subordinate to the "great Sahib," the one representative of Government.

But after a while the work is divided. First the larger judicial powers are separated from the executive and administrative. This is not quite unintelligible to the villagers, for they have traditions of judges of their own, who cared for neither king nor Cæsar—and they think it rather meritorious in a despot to insist on his judges being independent. But as the subdivision goes on, and every fresh addition to the army of Government functionaries owns allegiance to some separate centralised department, the villagers get puzzled. If, as sometimes happens, they find one official lamenting, and, as far as he can, counter-acting, what another department has done, the puzzle increases. It culminates when there arises some grievance, admitted and felt by all, which no Government official can deny or excuse, but which all declare to be irremediable, though the villager fancies a stroke of the pen ought to set it to rights. Englishmen understand what is meant by "departmental difficulties" and a "conflict of departments," but to the Indian villager's mind it is a perpetual puzzle.

Gradually this division of authority tells on the village constitution. There are discontented members in the

happiest of families, and an Indian village is not free from such troublesome elements. Malcontents soon discover that administration by departments affords the "Village Hampden" 'endless opportunities of worrying the "little tyrant of his fields," with much greater comfort and safety to himself than by the old process of giving up his lands and driving off his cattle to cultivate for a few seasons under some rival potentate, till the village elders make up the feud, and bring him back to his ancestral acres.

So if he quarrels with the Headman of his village, and finds that the English Prefect or Lord-Lieutenant of his county supports the village authorities, and that the law courts promise no redress, the malcontent looks out for a departmental patron. One or other of the departments of Post-office, Railways, Telegraphs, and Public Works, is likely to extend its ramifications within reach of most villages, and remote and poor indeed must be the hamlet which is never visited by some functionary of the Survey, or Vaccination, Education, or Forest Departments.

What the "Department" may be, matters little, provided its local representative can be got to interfere in some way which sets the authority of the village Headman and his council of elders at naught; and the revenge is all the sweeter if, as often happens, the village authorities are checkmated by some "department" of whose name they have scarcely heard, and of whose functions they have the vaguest possible notion.

But in general the Civil Courts of Justice, with their novel codes and irresistible law process, or the Land Survey and Settlement Departments—invaluable in themselves,—are the most universal and most potent of the agencies to crush and disintegrate the fossilised institutions that have lasted for so many ages.

This is no exaggeration of a process which is going on

in most parts of India ; is breaking up, much more rapidly and completely than we fancy, the old bonds which have for centuries kept rural society together, under circumstances of adversity such as in any other country would have gone far to destroy all traces of civilisation.

The process may be a natural, perhaps an inevitable sequence of our system of administration ; but it is not the less a puzzle to the villagers, and they cannot always see the remoter benefits which it brings in its train.

Still more potent, if less universally diffused, is the disintegrating agency of our religion, which I mention last, because, though most effective of all, it is the agency with which the British Government has least active concern.

The period soon passes by when the villagers of a newly-annexed district believe, as they too often used to do at first, that the " Sahibs " are atheists, without religion ; and when the village matrons hush their children with threats of making them over to the " Sahib " to be buried alive in the foundations of the court-house or the bridge he is constructing.

Probably, with very few exceptions, the evening conclave of village Elders in most hamlets has long since settled, after frequent discussions, not only that the English gentlemen have a religion, but that they think a good deal about it.

All who have visited the Head-Quarter Garrison station of the Province, know that some kind of a place of worship is considered as necessary as a mess-house, a canteen, or a theatre, to a complete set of barracks. They see the European soldiers marched off, with bands playing, every Sunday to one and sometimes to two or three of these churches, whither the gentlemen and ladies drive in their carriages to listen to " Padres " of various kinds. All public work is stopped, and a general holiday is kept. Then there is

often a "Devil's House," as a Freemason's Lodge is generally termed, where meetings are held at night, with mysterious ceremonies, which, more than any religious services held among Europeans, seem to awaken the curiosity of the native country-cousin who comes to town to see the world.

All this the village Elders know from their own observation or from the eye-witness of respectable people, and "have no need to listen to the marvellous tales which are told by some of the low-caste fellows who may have served in the garrison as hewers of wood and drawers of water, as horse-keepers, and in other menial offices under the English."

"Religion of some kind is evidently an important business with these white-skinned people." But its exact nature is usually for a long time a puzzle to the villagers.

They do not often learn much in explanation of this mystery from the first Englishmen who visit their village. These busy officials have seldom time for talk except on official subjects. Nevertheless, the villagers observe that many of them cease from official work on Sunday. A few may make it a day of amusement; but there is generally something clearly religious about the observance. If a villager makes bold to ask a question or two on the subject from the great man—he sometimes hears a good deal more. But usually the great man is reserved, and advises the querist "to inquire from the first Padre he meets."

Perhaps a "Padre" may visit the village while the great man is there, and then the observant villagers remark that the freest livers among the "Sahibs" pay him marked respect—even though he may be a "Dhūrm Padre"—a priest, that is, for the love of God, *i.e.* a Missionary, and not a Government official.

Such a Padre is pretty sure to extend his walk towards

the village, to converse with the Elders at their evening conclave, and say a few words to the women who come to draw at the village well. He gives tracts and books to all who will accept them and promise to read them, and often goes his way with a heavy heart, and a note in his journal, expressive of his still deferred hopes that some good may follow his efforts in his Lord's service, though so little result is apparent.

But though not apparent to him, his visit is often a most important era in the history of the village, when he least thinks he has made any impression. Like every other visitor of note; he is talked over at the evening meeting of the village Elders, and the talk is generally some index to the popular opinion.

A fanatic or two, the bigoted old Brahman Shastri, and a rather disaffected Mohammedan Moolla, are of opinion that "under a well-ordered government such preaching would be stopped. If it were not for fear of British Courts and British bayonets it *would* soon be stopped. It is all part and parcel of the same insidious design for taking all rent-free lands from temples and mosques, and turning the people into Christians."

They would probably say a good deal more in the same strain, if the prudent Elders did not interfere to stop anything which malicious eavesdroppers might construe into treason against Government.

Generally the seniors and well-to-do people in the assembly, are very decidedly of opinion that, "every man should stick to the religion in which he was born. Every nation has a religion of its own, and all are true, each for its own nation. Just as there are different sorts of eyes for birds, beasts, fishes, and reptiles, yet all see at the same time by the same light." "This," they generally believe, "must be the opinion of the Government itself.

Else why does Government disclaim all official connection with the Missionary? Why does it not order him to teach every one in the name of the State? At any rate, this sort of preaching is never likely to come to anything. Their ancient gods have lasted too long to be set aside by any new-fangled foreign worship."

Probably, as regards both the views of Government and the futility of the Padre's preaching, the feelings of the speakers are less positive than their expressions, and the more sagacious have a sort of instinctive misgiving that though the Padre is not a "Department," his talk is likely to work more change in the village than all the Departments in India put together. But they have no very obvious grounds for their fears, and therefore say little about them.

There are, however, two or three who do not cease to think of the subject when the assembly breaks up.

In every village community will be found some men of naturally devout minds, ill-content with what their ancestral system offers them. Their hearts have been stirred by misfortune or suffering—their consciences awakened they hardly know how. They have vainly sought rest for their souls by self-inflicted penances, and long pilgrimages, and sacrifices of what they love or value. In this state they hear something from this new religion, some words of St. Paul or St. John, or some saying of our Lord's, which seems to promise them what they have long sought, and they resolve, if possible, to learn more about it.

Then there are members of the "outside" population—the helots and serfs, who, important as they are to the village community, are not admitted to the Council of Elders, but talk among themselves, in a little Council of their own, under the tree by their huts outside the village.

There has been much to stir their minds ever since these white faces first appeared in the land. The yeomen of pure Hindoo descent, the shopkeepers and the Brahmans, still hold these outsiders, as they have done for ages past, unclean, and feel polluted by their touch; but the "Sahibs" do not appear to think so, at least not till they learn it from the Brahmans. The younger Sahibs may be sometimes hot and hasty, and get impatient when people don't understand their bad pronunciation, but it is clear they don't agree with the Brahmans in matters of caste; and every one of the speakers has some instance of his own experience, something which occurred when he was hunting or shooting with the Sahib, or when he was giving evidence in his Court, or taking a message from him, which proves that the Sahib looks upon all these distinctions of caste as nonsense, and that he would not even object to drink water of the helot's drawing, provided it was brought in a clean vessel.

Then whenever they stir out of their own village some evidence meets them of the equalising, levelling tendencies of the British Government—of its entire disregard for the distinctions of caste which so largely modify the action of every native administration. "At the great public works every one gets paid according to his work—no one asks what is the workman's caste, or where he comes from. Then what incarnations of justice, equity, and equality, are the roads and railroads! How straight they go! caring no more for the Headman's or Rajah's field than for the Helot's rubbish-heap; everybody goes together by train, the prince and the peasant—all get accommodated according to what they pay, without distinction of caste or rank, and all arrive at the same time! It is the same with their courts of justice; if you have only money enough you may sue anybody you please, and get

a decree too, sometimes, and have it executed against the wealthiest banker in the county town (though that is a dangerous experiment, by no means to be recommended, for, after all, Lukshmi, the goddess of wealth, has it all her way in this world, and bankers are her special favourites). Then, this 'Lightning-post,' what a wonderful invention it is! It beats even the railway as a manifestation of benevolence, justice, and equality; for every one's message goes in turn, and all for the same price per dozen words."*

Now, this equalising and levelling policy, which at first was a great puzzle to the villagers, seems explained by what this Dhurm Padre says. "He tells of One God over all—of One Saviour for all—and insists that this God made of one blood all mankind—that there is no distinction before Him of Brahman or 'outsider;' that all will be equal in death, and all be judged by one rule after death."

"If the Sahibs really believe this, no wonder all their doings and inventions have such a levelling tendency." The oldest of the community of outsiders have never heard anything of the kind before, and some of them resolve "to inquire more about what the Padre says, and, if possible, make their children attend some school where they may learn to read these books, which the Padre gives so freely, and which tell such wonderful things, not only of London, and railways, and the electric telegraph; but of the New Heavens and New Earth, in which dwelleth righteousness."

Perhaps the profoundest impression, though he says, least about it, is made on the young Brahman, the village

* These are not imaginary conversations, but taken from remarks which any one who talks to this class of people may hear almost any day in their common conversation.

schoolmaster, it may be, or vaccinator, or postmaster. He has listened almost in silence to the discussion among the village Elders. He was born in the village, and had been taught a little Sanskrit by his father in boyhood ; he has received a good education in his own language, and learnt enough of English to wish to learn more, at a Government school in the provincial capital. The course of study was carefully secular ; and when, as was constantly the case, the scholar's inquiries wandered into fields of discussion more or less connected with religion, the subject was avoided in a manner rather calculated to pique the inquirer's curiosity. But there was so much to be learnt about the world and its history and affairs that the scholar deferred further inquiry, and at length returned to his village as a Government *employé* in some department, on a salary superior to all the hereditary allowances of the village magnates put together, and paid punctually in cash monthly. He is a rich, and would be an influential man, but he has got quite out of joint with his old playfellows and their parents ; he has in his heart the most profound contempt for all that his father, the bigoted old Shastri, and his friends, go on talking about their gods, and the silly and licentious tales of what their gods did, which seem to him fit only to amuse vicious children ; he is pained at their open worship of their hideous stone and metal idols, whose legendary acts and attributes appear to his awakened moral sense even more debased than their outward forms.

But this he is forced to keep to himself. He would not willingly vex his father or his kind old mother, and woe be to him if they or their friends suspected half the thoughts that rise in his heart ! So he works at his official duties ; has a talk now and then with a former class-fellow, who visits the village as a surveyor, tax-

assessor, or in some other public "Department," and who, he finds, is as unsettled as himself; and muses often on the inexplicable tangle of human affairs.

He has never been in the way of knowing much directly about the religion of these Sahibs, and is rather glad when he hears that the "Dhurm Padre" has come to the village. He goes to listen, and, may be, is at first inclined to treat with contempt some apparent want of school learning. "The 'Padre' is evidently not as profound a Shastri as his own father, nor as great at the differential calculus as the Cambridge professor from whom he heard lectures at the Government College;" but as he listens, one social or moral problem after another, which he had been used to ponder over, and found so difficult to solve, receives new light, and a history of the world, its past and its future, is revealed to him—so simple, so consistent, and so fully explaining many of his doubts and difficulties, that, if he could but believe it, he feels that a great weight would be removed from his mind, and he would be a happier man.

But it is not only with regard to his own personal relations to God and his fellow-men that the young Brahman feels a new light has broken in on him. He is a patriot, after his way, though his way is different from patriots French or English, Germans or Fenians, in Europe. He has dreams of his own about his own people and country which he hardly dares breathe to himself, as he mourns over the hopeless internal divisions of India, and feels that heavy as may be the yoke of the most benevolent foreign ruler, it must be borne as long, as the children of India are so obviously unable to combine for the common good, and rule themselves.

In the simple truths which the "Dhurm Padre" urges so earnestly, with no object but the personal salvation of

his hearers, the young Brahman thinks he sees the secret of that wonderful power which has enabled the people of a remote islet in the Northern Seas to subjugate the hundred millions of Hindostan, with all its ancient arts, civilisation, and elements of wealth and power.

The few short sentences regarding the unity and brotherhood of mankind—the responsibility of all, Emperor as well as peasant, to One God, of infinite power, justice, and mercy—seem to him to form the talisman of that mysterious success which is daily working such miracles before his eyes. If his own race, so rich in the accumulated intellectual power of many nations and many centuries, could only believe and learn this wonderful secret, what a future might yet be in store for India and her children!

And so, as he watches the good Padre mount his pony to leave the village, in doubt whether his day's preaching has produced the slightest permanent effect, the young Brahman feels that he at least has caught a glimpse of truths which may not only change his own future but the future of India. It is but one step on a toilsome and thorny path, but he has resolved to take it, and to inquire further, to get a Bible and read the books which the Padre says contain all the whole secret of his own faith, and to learn more from some friend who has attended a Mission school. And if the Truth has not lost its virtue during the many centuries since it was first proclaimed among the mountains of Judea, who shall set limits to its energy when preached in their own tongues and by their own countrymen among the myriads of India?

I have endeavoured, however imperfectly, to give the English reader some idea of a great moral and intellectual revolution which is going on in India, promoted by a hundred unconnected and unconscious agencies, and

affecting alike the crowds in populous cities and—what is far more important—the rural population.

Not the least remarkable part of the revolution seems to me to be the general unconsciousness of the agents employed as to the extent, if not the character, of the great changes they are working out.

Space only admits of a very brief reference to one or two questions immediately concerning our own Church.

I. What has our English Church had to do with all this great work ?

Less, it must be confessed, in some ways than other Churches which are not so much bound by apparent ties of duty to preach the Gospel in Hindostan.

We may justly boast that we built the first Protestant church in India, and that the first Mission of the Reformed Western Churches was established by our venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, at a time when it was the only Missionary Society in Protestant Europe.

But many generations elapsed before we did anything effectually or decidedly to follow up these first steps. And, when the work was resumed, nearly a century after its first commencement, several Nonconformist Societies, and even foreign nations, for a time were more active than the Church of England.

During the past fifty years much has been done by our two Church Societies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Church Missionary Society, to remove this reproach from us. Their work will now bear comparison, in extent as well as in quality, with that of any other Christian Church in India ; but it is not yet equal to what might be expected from the National Church of the rulers of India.

Let us frankly confess these shortcomings. Still, in

considering what each Church in Christendom has done towards the great work of evangelizing India, we must in fairness credit the Anglican Church with the good which has resulted from her position as the representative of State religion ; more especially since it is this characteristic which has greatly hindered her action as a proselytizing Missionary Church. I do not now speak of the indirect benefits which result from her sending out bishops like Middleton and Heber, Wilson and Cotton, Carr and Corrie, or of the great body of well-educated and exemplary clergy, who have, as Government Chaplains, done so much, in many different ways, to aid Missionary work ; nor of the support which good Churchmen have freely given to the Missions of other than our own Church in India. I refer simply to the fact that the Church of England has, by her connection with the State, done most important service to the cause of Christianity in India, by saving the State from the reproach of godlessness.

The notions of an average intelligent native of India, on the subject of State religion, are generally well defined, and are often, I venture to think, as conformable to abstract reasoning as those of many men who are called statesmen in Europe. A godless State—a State which, in its corporate capacity, acknowledges no religion as its own, which deals with men as with herds of the lower animals—is, to the native of India generally, a fearful and unintelligible phenomenon. He is strongly possessed with a feeling which we are sometimes apt to stigmatize as timidity or servility. In one of ourselves we might call it genuine natural politeness. This often prevents him from expressing at all to Europeans his horror of an atheistical State. But the feeling, like some others equally important, is not the less strong because the

Indian says little about it to his European friend. When they talk among themselves, however, or without reserve to a foreigner, intelligent Hindoos and Mohammedans generally agree that, in any model State, the rulers must have a God and a religion of their own. Men who have learned differently from modern European teachers will sometimes maintain modern European doctrines regarding the duty of the State to ignore religion; but, with this exception, all intelligent natives regard a State governed on such principles as a dominion of demons, and not of men.

What the State religion should be, and how it should deal with other religions than its own, are questions regarding which more diversity of opinion will naturally be expressed.

The Mohammedans generally hold that a faithful believer is bound to impose his creed on all within his power, and that the only limits of his duty in this respect are the limits of his power. The doctrines of pure and dominant Mohammedanism on this point have in India been much modified in past ages by force of external circumstances and by the more tolerant genius of Hindooism. But of late years there has been a great revival of the more simple and intolerant principles of Islam under the name of Wahabeeism. The force of this revival may, in India especially, often derive strength from a kind of despair; but is not, on that account, less dangerous.

Hindoos, on the other hand, generally hold that, as long as the rulers of the State have a religion of their own, and leave their subjects free to follow their own convictions or traditions in religious matters, the State has no further duty with regard to religion. The cases are comparatively rare where the rulers and their Hindoo subjects are in

entire accord regarding religion. Where they are, it may be admitted that the practice of Hindoo toleration is not theoretically perfect. Kine may not be killed nor may eggs or even oysters be eaten with impunity, where pure Hindooism is in the ascendant. But these cases are comparatively rare, and in general the practice as well as the theory of Hindoos, is much more in accordance with the views of the more enlightened modern European writers, than the practice of many modern European rulers.

No portion of the great Proclamation of 1858 struck the natives of India so much, or found so ready a response in their own feelings and ideas, as the passages in which the Queen expressed her attachment to her own religion, and her determination to secure perfect toleration in religious matters for all her subjects. The gracious words to which Her Majesty then gave utterance have since become proverbial in India, and are habitually quoted by the natives as embodying the great fundamental principle of our rule. They seem to us, however, to express no more than has been, for generations past, the theory, if not always the practice, of our National Church. It is the spirit they embody which entitles that Church to a large share not only of the success of the past, but of the hopes of the future, as regards the evangelization of India.

Making every allowance for extreme opinions often held by men in high authority within her pale, no other Church has for so many generations exercised so much power in England and been at once so tolerant and so comprehensive. It may be said, with truth, that respect for the rights of private judgment is a national characteristic. It is so ; and in proportion as the National Church gives expression to the national feeling in this respect will be its hold on the nation. No other Church could have

held the same position of authority in India, and could, without sacrifice of its own principles, have abstained from using that authority to repress and impede the action of other Churches.

Whether perfect and genuine indifferentism to all religions alike, be a condition of possible permanent stability for a State, is a problem yet to be solved by experience in Europe and America. In India it is at present, to my apprehension, clearly an impossibility, and Christians of other Churches, as well as the natives of India who are not Christians, may congratulate themselves that the National Church of their rulers is so deeply imbued with the national and Christian aversion to using temporal power for the purpose of influencing religious profession.

On this point, of course, the members of other Churches may think the view taken too favourable to our own Church ; but few, I think, will be found to question the importance to the general cause of Christianity in India of having some Church which shall occupy the position of a State Church, and be officially recognised in that capacity by the Government of India.

Earnest Christians, who do not belong to our Church, and some who do, might advantageously reflect on the service thus rendered by the Church of England in India, before they join in an agitation which has been lately got up in India for abolishing all payments now made by the State to Ecclesiastical Establishments. The movement professes to be in the interest of the Indian Taxpayer. But unless instigated by European leaders, and supplied with arguments taken from the conflicts of rival Churches in our own country, I doubt whether the Hindoo Taxpayer would join in the cry. He is not yet prepared to dispense with the support of British bayonets, or the

supervision of a British Government, and he would not find either to be the better adapted to his wants if emancipated from such control as the ministers of our religion exercise over their flocks.

To the Church itself, individually, the question is by no means one of such importance. Any advantage she derives from her connection with the State in India is dearly purchased by the restraints which are in consequence imposed on her free action. As a Missionary Church there can be no doubt she would be much more efficient if emancipated from all State control ; whether the cause of Missions generally would not greatly suffer, if all State connection with Christianity in India were abolished, is another question—and I for one believe that the results would be most detrimental.

We next come to the question—

II. What, as regards the future in India, are the prominent duties and responsibilities of the Church of England?

I do not think it in any way desirable to require or expect from the Government Chaplains in India more than the duties connected with their ministrations to the Christian servants of Government.

Those duties are amply sufficient, if fully performed, to occupy very completely the most active and energetic. Occasional leisure may be usefully devoted to works of Church extension and Church scholarship and study, which are as important to a Missionary Church as to any other, but for which actively employed Missionaries have little leisure or opportunity.

I have said how important it is, in my opinion, that the English Government should be known as a Government which has a religion of its own ; and how valuable in this sense, as a public testimony, is the establishment of

Ministers of religion maintained by Government as pastors to its own servants.

It seems to me scarcely less important that the duty of affording this testimony to the value of religion should be kept distinct from any active participation in Missionary work. Space only allows of a very brief glance at my reasons for thinking it essential that the two duties should be intrusted to different bodies of men.

Christianity is now acting in different ways, directly and indirectly, visibly and invisibly, as a solvent of those old bands which have for ages kept together society and civilisation in India. The revolution has hitherto been not only peaceful, but silent, and, perhaps to the mass of mankind, little perceptible.

This seems to me to render it imperative that the Government of England should occupy a position of absolute and unmistakeable independence as regards the Missionary agencies which are actively at work in effecting this revolution.

I do not believe that all the power of the Cæsars could add any real force to those agencies ; but I see much ground for fear lest Cæsar's intervention, however well meant, should mar or neutralise the result—even if it did not entirely stop the process.

We are sometimes told, on high authority, that the people of India are *in statu pupillari*—that it is the duty of a Christian Government to exert its parental authority by impressing on the youth of India the truths of Christianity without reference to the wishes of the natural parents of those who are to be educated.

This has always seemed to me a most dangerous doctrine—dangerous not only to the political peace and well-being of the country and to the liberties of its people, but to the truths themselves which we desire to have more generally received.

I speak not merely of the risk of political disturbance, and the danger of exciting active resistance—but of the certainty that such views, if successfully carried out, can only lead to a mental and spiritual tyranny of the most grievous kind.

The natural right of a Hindoo parent to direct the religious education of his child, while under years of discretion, is as sacred as that of the Christian parent. It cannot, in my opinion, be interfered with or controlled by the State without a breach of the first principles of that law of Christian liberty to which we ourselves would appeal, were we the subject party—nor without violence to the spirit of Christian equity which enjoins us to do to others as we would be done by.

Nor have we the poor excuse of a reasonable prospect of benefiting the cause we wish to promote. Caesar's official patronage is in no way needed to strengthen the kingdom of Christ.

The Missionary agencies now at work in India have the means of offering the Gospel to the people of every part of India much more fully and freely than has ever been the case, with respect to such an area and such a population, in any part of the world, or at any other period of the world's history. The work can be only retarded or impaired, if not prevented, by worldly aid or worldly motives, by any form of State interference, or by what is intended as State assistance.

To secure perfect toleration, so that every man of full age should have full liberty of opinion and speech, as long as he does no injury to his neighbour, is, I think, the proper work of a Christian State in India, and to it the State should be strictly confined.

There are a thousand ways in which the Christian servants of Government can personally aid the Missionary

cause by their subscriptions, their sympathy, their prayers, and above all by the example of lives which shall be to all around them, whether Christians or not, a living epistle. It is no small privilege for the soldier or the ruler—the steward of earthly things—to be allowed thus to aid the great cause. If more than this is attempted, there is danger of earthly motives entering into the work. It is a post of honour to keep guard round the Tabernacle. It is not given to all to serve within the Sanctuary, or to do more than prepare materials for the Temple in which the Ark shall find shelter and rest.

In the great Missionary Societies connected with the Church of England, every form of Missionary zeal may find expression and room for exercise, and no sort of aid can be reckoned superfluous—Missionaries of either sex, the most learned and the most simple, may find work which will task to the uttermost the talents which God has given them. For all there is ample room, and there is urgent need of such aid as the weakest can give.

Space does not admit of my entering on many subjects of great importance connected with what may be called the administrative details of Missionary work in India.*

* I do not think that any considerable improvement can be suggested in the general system of our two great Missionary Societies.

As regards the raising of funds, it is possible that a considerable economy might be effected, and the work greatly extended by adopting the plan in general use in France and other Roman Catholic countries, where large sums are collected for Missions and other purposes—almost absolutely without any deduction for the costs of collection. The system is this—

Each Curé selects one or more of his congregation to collect for the Mission a given sum, generally one sou each, from ten other persons, every week, and to bring the collections weekly to the Curé in church. The collector is charged, if possible, to extend his operations by selecting one of his ten subscribers as an independent collector from ten others. He again may repeat the operation ; and

Whatever may be the agency employed, probably, as I have endeavoured above to show, in no part of the great Vineyard is there so fair a prospect of a great and early

so on, so far as the numbers and means of the whole congregation will allow. The sums thus collected weekly are sent by the Curé to the Bishop, and by him to the Central Societies at Paris or Lyons.

Vast sums are thus collected at very little cost of clerical labour in collecting, and are accounted for, as placed in the Treasuries of the various societies, with no other charge than a very small sum for printing.

As regards the application of funds when collected, I know of no considerable improvement which could be recommended, in the general management of our great Societies, unless it were by entrusting to the local administration in India rather more discretionary power to vary the mode of working so as to suit local and even personal peculiarities.

An extension of the Episcopate would greatly facilitate this, and every other branch of the Church's work. It would promote the creation of a great body of native clergy with a native episcopate of their own, and a native ritual, the three great present needs of our native Churches in India.

In all these respects the spirit of our Anglican Church forms seems extremely well suited to the wants of an Indian Church; but the forms themselves will need considerable variation from our Anglican forms, and can only be suitably settled by Synods in which the native element shall largely preponderate.

Suggestions are frequently made to increase the Missionary agency by encouraging Missionaries to place themselves under some sort of engagement to a celibate or ascetic life.

I would not venture to discuss the question as one of personal religion; but looking at it from a lay point of view, as regards efficiency in Missionary agents, I must declare my opinion to be wholly opposed to any belief in the superior energy of such agency.

No doubt there are times when any prudent soldier of the Cross would wish to be, like St. Paul, unencumbered by any worldly ties—however dear and sacred.

We see men in our own and other Churches whose energy and efficiency are conspicuously due to entire freedom from all calls of domestic and social duty. Probably every very active man has felt that there were times in his life when his efficiency for work of a

return for such labour as may be applied in obedience to the commands of the Divine Master and in accordance with His Spirit.

Missionary character would have been greatly promoted by temporary freedom from all such calls on his time or thoughts.

But, in the long run, and looking to the majority of cases, and to the whole of the work the Christian Church has to do in India, my opinion is decidedly against the superior efficiency of celibate or ascetic agency.

We see and hear much of its power when efficient ; but I am convinced, from close personal observation, that the percentage of inefficient agents is, in quiet times, far greater among celibates and ascetics than among Missionaries who are permitted to marry, and who live as our Protestant Missionaries generally do in India, frugally and soberly, after the manner of life to which the same men and women would be accustomed in any active and laborious calling.

In judging of this question, few are aware of or calculate the enormous sacrifice of life, health, and efficiency which celibacy and asceticism, as practised by the active Roman Catholic Missionaries, entail in India.

We usually think and speak of such men as martyrs. But their title to the crown cannot be beyond dispute, unless the necessity, or at least the utility of the conduct which causes loss of health and life be clearly established.

In India especially, above all countries, it would be difficult to prove the superior efficacy of celibate and ascetic agency.

It enters largely into the machinery of almost all the most popular Creeds in India, and is often held in high honour and esteem by the vulgar ; but on the whole it fails, for the same reasons which appear to me to cause it to fail everywhere else. It is at variance with the Laws of Human Nature, and however its restrictions may help to stimulate energy in some directions, no such agent can thoroughly understand mankind as they are, and consequently he cannot thoroughly know his own business.

I am speaking of course as a layman, without reference to any but secular judgments of success or failure ; but the opinion I have expressed has particular reference to our dealing with Brahmans, probably the most successful on the whole of all sacerdotal bodies—and they have found by experience that celibacy and asceticism do not in the long run, and with the greater part of mankind, add to their power.

In no part of the world, I believe, would it be possible to realize so fully the brotherhood of all who bear the name of Christ.

In India, as elsewhere, it must needs be that offences come—there are, and there probably ever will be, divisions and discords such as sadly hinder the work of the Gospel. They are often such as cause shame to all sensitive Christians. But, as compared with our own country, there is little bitterness of strife among earnest men of different ways of thinking. In the face of an idolatry such as that which pervades Hindostan, all minor differences among Christians sink into comparative insignificance.

Is it impossible that in this, as in other ways, there may be a reflex action from foreign Missions on the Home Churches, which may in some sense repay what India will owe to the Churches of the West?

We know how much active Mission work, whether in our own or any foreign country, stimulates the inward life of any Missionary Church. It can hardly fail also to foster the spirit of Christian charity; many a man whose existence has been embittered by the internal discords of Christendom may learn in Mission work how all-important

This may be partly due to the views which Hindoos generally take of marriage; and which ought to be taken into account when considering how the mass of the people are to be acted on.

There is, of course, much diversity of views among so many millions; but the usual Hindoo view is that the pair—a man and woman suitably matched—is the perfect human being: a single man or woman is an imperfect being. Celibacy (and asceticism also) has abundant honour among other forms of self-inflicted human suffering, or of exemption from human infirmity; but, in any other point of view it is a reproach, and an evidence of inborn evil deserving punishment, either for personal or inherited sins.

Of course, in any Christian Church, the question will be argued on other and higher grounds. But it has also its mundane and secular side, and to that only I now refer.

are the points on which all Christians are agreed ; how comparatively trifling are the questions which often, in this country, divide us from each other.

Again, as the Rev. Dr. Kay has well observed, the Catholic Church cannot attain its proper normal condition in any one part, till it has embraced within itself the whole range of humanity.

“Every nation,” he observes, “has its contribution of moral qualities to give to the Catholic Church. I am persuaded that the view which makes the Greek, Latin, and Gothic races to have exhausted all that is of essential importance to the rehabilitation of humanity is a profound error. I believe that the Hindoo, for instance, has many noble qualities ; lofty idealism ; singular strength of self-devotion ; marvellous power of endurance ; along with natural aptitude for many of the gentler virtues, as meekness, tenderness, delicacy—virtues which we may not rank very highly, but on which our Saviour has stamped His indelible approbation in the Sermon on the Mount.”

These virtues, and others akin to them, such as patience and temperance, seem peculiarly calculated to find exceptional development in such a Church as we may imagine taking the place of the present dark superstitions of India.

This brings us back to the question put by the Brahmoist teacher, “What shall be the Church of the Future ?”

We may not, like him, hope to see on earth any Universal Church, in which all Nations and Languages shall join. Our visions of such Catholic Unity must refer to a period when the Heavens and the Earth, as they now are, shall have been changed ; but we may hope, and at no distant period, to see a great Christian Church in India, with dis-

inct National characteristics of its own, but with features which may be recognised by all Catholic Christians as betokening true Catholic Unity with the Great Head of our Faith. It would be vain to speculate on what are likely to be the distinctive features of such an Indian Church, but we may be confident that they will be no mere copy of the Churches which have grown up in and around Europe ; and that, while holding the Truths which are to be gathered from the teaching of Our Lord and His Apostles, the framers of the Church constitution of India will find no necessity for copying peculiarities which have been impressed on so many of the older Churches of Christendom by the circumstances under which they were originally organized, in communities at that time quite as barbarous as the least civilised portions of India are now.

We have, as a nation, formidable debtor and creditor accounts of various kinds with India, and it is often difficult to say on which side the net balance lies. But there is one obligation which seems to me to outweigh all others in magnitude and importance, and that is the obligation to provide for India some substitute for those social ties which are dissolved by the unavoidable action of our rule.

This sketch affords but a very imperfect idea of the number and activity of the agencies set in motion by an administration like ours. In spite of our most earnest wishes, they often tend surely but silently to break down not only caste, but all old systems of municipal organization.

The institutions which we thus help to dissolve have preserved the country from anarchy, and maintained civilisation and social order under circumstances such as would have reduced any part of Europe or America to

barbarism. Nothing, I believe, has been further from our intention than to loosen such social ties; but the result seems inevitable, and is being brought about at this moment with a rapidity of which few who have not lived much among the people of India can be aware. The process could not be arrested if we were to leave India to-morrow; the spell of caste, and all that is connected with caste, has been broken, and whatever of weal or woe may be in store for the India of the Future, the India which we knew a generation ago, frozen into forms which had remained unchanged for so many centuries, can never be seen again.

Have we no obligations to India of any duty to be rendered, bound up with the awful gifts of freedom which we have already conferred on her? Whether we intended it or not, we have sown the seeds of revolution, physical, intellectual, moral, and religious; and who amongst us shall venture to prophesy what may be the results ere another generation has passed over us?

There seems to me to be but one gift which imagination could devise, and that is the gift of those truths which are the real secret of the power we exercise on other nations. They have virtue to bind as well as to loose; to draw together by the bonds of Christian love and brotherhood, as well as to set free from the fetters of Satan. They, and they alone, can render the people of India capable of that degree of self-government which seems the only condition on which India can be retained as a portion of the British Empire, and preserved from falling a prey to intestine discords, and the domination of foreign powers, whose scourges of scorpions would speedily cast into oblivion the harshest records of British rule.

Should it be permitted to England to leave Christian

Truth as our legacy to the people of Hindostan, our rule there will not lack a memorial more enduring than her ancient kings have graven on her rocks, or her ancient conquerors burnt into the memories of her people.

H. B. E. FRERE.

Christmas Eve, 1869.



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